

THE MODERN PHILOLOGY MONOGRAPHS

LANCELOT
AND
GUENEVERE

By
TOM PEETE CROSS
and
WILLIAM A. NITZE



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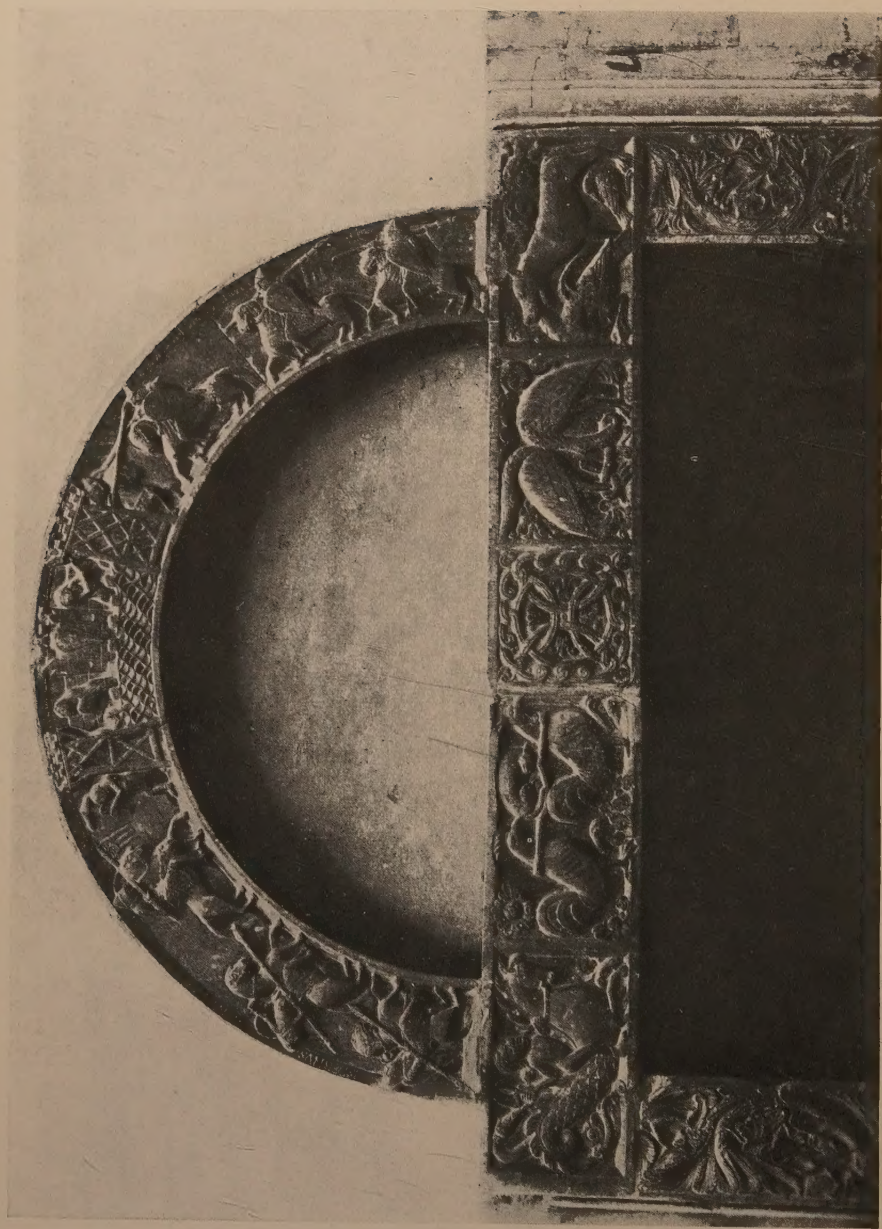
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LANCELOT AND GUENEVERE

A Study on the Origins of Courtly Love

BY

TOM PEETE CROSS

AND

WILLIAM ALBERT NITZE



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
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INTRODUCTION

ARTISTRY is the intellectual or conscious side of art. It is resorted to when men and women have reached a civilized state and seek in love not merely passion or sentiment but a hedonistic interest in its effect. Then they invent rules about it and give it an almost mystical importance. So it was with Stendhal and Balzac, and so it was with medieval "courtly" romance.

The story of Lancelot and Guenevere makes its first appearance as literature in the *Roman de la Charrete* [*Lancelot*] by Chrétien de Troyes. But the theme of the story, under different names, was current in Ireland centuries earlier. The object of the present monograph is to outline the romance by Chrétien, to trace it back to its origins, and, lastly, to set forth in detail the evolution that the theme underwent at the hands of the French poet.

Chrétien composed the poem at the behest of his patroness, Mary^{le} of Champagne, and to please her he made it the vehicle of a system of Courtly Love. It is our aim to show how well fitted the Celtic theme was to serve this purpose and yet how ingeniously the countess and the poet adapted it to the spirit of their own age by making Lancelot the humble but willing "slave" of Arthur's queen. In short, by creating the "romance."

We are indebted, of course, to Gaston Paris' memorable articles on "Lancelot du Lac," in *Romania*, Volume X (1881) and Volume XII (1883). To a considerable extent the present study is an extension and a *mise au point* of the results that Paris obtained. But we have endeavored to make clear that the "love-service" of Lancelot is only one phase of *l'amour courtois*, that the abduction story as combined with an Otherworld visit is a Celtic commonplace, and that Chrétien's indebtedness to the Provençal poets is slight.

By taking nothing for granted and shunning the use of hypothetical versions, we have followed a strictly historical method. Thus we have

verified (when possible) the texts we cite, and our outline of the *Charrete* (chap. I) rests not only on the text reconstructed by Foerster¹ but also on MS T (Bib. Nat. 12560), which, as Foerster himself admitted, "verdient die meiste Rücksicht."

In treating a poet as silent about himself as Chrétien—though for a medieval he is far from reticent—such strict adherence to fact is the only way of reaching a clear idea of his narrative art. The *Charrete* is by no means his best composition, as all who have the fortitude to read through our first chapter will realize. But uninspired as the romance often is, the plan and execution of the poem go far to explain why Lancelot succeeded Tristan in the amatory literature of the Middle Ages. The "lovelorn" Lancelot was probably a traditional figure: the German *Lanzelet*, which is based on a French source, still calls him *wipsaelig*. His connection with the 'lake' (*del Lac*) was known, however vaguely, to the readers of the *Erec*. It remained for Chrétien to bind him heart and soul to Guenevere. By making the character an out-and-out *courtois*, in contrast to Tristan, "E amors ten se ab los cortés," he gave the Lancelot story its undying vogue.

While, then, the present volume offers no new synthesis of Courtly Love, it attempts to elucidate one of its significant manifestations in an orderly, chronological, and (we hope) adequate manner. The social convention known as Courtly Love came into being gradually, in accordance with the desires of certain definite people. It is this personal aspect of the case that is illustrated by the *Lancelot*.²

¹ Wendelin Foerster, *Der Karrenritter (Lancelot) und das Wilhelmsleben (Guillaume d'Angleterre)*, Halle, 1899.

² We are under obligations to Ferdinand Lot, Alfons Hilka, and T. Atkinson Jenkins for valuable suggestions, and also to our former or present pupils, Foster E. Guyer, Clark H. Slover, Lawrence M. Levin, Dorothy E. Winters, and Leon P. Smith, Jr.

I

OUTLINE OF THE *CHARRETE*

1. INTRODUCTION, vss. 1-31

CHRETIEN writes this "book" at the command of Mary of Champagne,¹ who gives him both the *matiere* and the *sens* (so MS T, vs. 26) for it.

2. THE RASH BOON, vss. 31-173

A knight, *de totes ses armes armez* (vs. 48), bursts into the Arthurian court at Cama[a]lot² and proclaims that he will release the prisoners he holds if he is vanquished by a challenger, accompanied by the Queen, in a neighboring wood (vs. 75 *an cel bois*). Kay the seneschal, hearing this remark, tells Arthur that he is leaving his service; his manner is that of a disgruntled servant. Arthur sends him to Guenevere, who learns that Kay will remain, provided Arthur grants him a boon (vs. 168 *un covant*; vs. 174 *li dons*³). This the King rashly promises.

3. DEPARTURE OF THE QUEEN, vss. 173-247

Accordingly, to everybody's regret, Kay becomes the defender of Guenevere against the armed stranger. The Queen, forced to keep Arthur's agreement, is downcast; mounting her palfrey she mutters beneath her breath:

Ha! ha! se vos le seüssiez
Ja, ce croi, ne me leüssissiez
Sanz chalonge mener un pas.⁴

¹ In vs. 25 it is called a *livre* ... *Del Chevalier de la Charrete*, but in vs. 7123 Godefroi de Leigni, Chretien's continuator, terms it a *romanz*, with the shorter title of *la Charrete*.

In vs. 1 the poet names his patroness as *ma dame de Champaingne* and in vs. 27 as *La contesse*. For the identification with Mary of Champagne see below, p. 63.

² T, vs. 34 *Cort mout richê a Camalot*; cf. also A. On the possible derivation of this name from *Camlan* see E. Brugger, *Zeit. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.* [ZFSL], XXVIII (1905), 22. Consult now Urban T. Holmes, *Rom. Rev.*, XX (1929), 231-36.

³ See also vss. 2813 and 3790; for discussion see below, p. 49.

⁴ Obviously, she is "secretly" in love; for this motif see below, p. 70.

The *vos* evidently refers to Lancelot; and the remark is overheard by Count Guinables (vs. 215), who never again figures in the story. Kay then leads the Queen forth, while Gawain taunts his uncle for this *enfance* (vs. 228); and together they decide to follow Guenevere.

4. THE DISGRACEFUL CART, VSS. 248-399

Gawain, riding ahead of the crowd (*la rote*, vs. 270), meets a knight on a weary horse. The latter—obviously Lancelot¹—asks Gawain for one of the fresh horses (*destriers*) that Gawain has brought along. Mounting it, the knight plunges into the forest, and presently Gawain finds the horse slain and the knight afoot, approaching a ‘cart’ (*charrete*, vs. 322). In those times, says Chrétien, carts, like the pillories of later days, were used to parade criminals about town. Hence it was held a disgrace to be found in one.

This cart is driven by a dwarf (vs. 356 *de pute orine*)² carrying a long switch. He tells the knight that if he will climb into the cart, he will find the Queen. The knight, held back by reason (vs. 369 *mes raisons qui d’amors se part*,³ cf. Ovid *Metam.* vii. 10), hesitates a moment, and, then, at the command of Love, he mounts. Invited by the dwarf to do likewise, Gawain scornfully declines.

5. ARRIVAL AT THE FIRST CASTLE, VSS. 400-463

Thus, while Gawain rides, the other two *charretent*. Passing through a town, they are derided by the populace⁴ but are hospitably received

¹ The only apparent reason why Gawain does not recognize Lancelot is found in vs. 320: *tot armé, le hiaume lacié*, which implies that Lancelot’s face may not have been visible.

² On the rôle of the “dwarf” see below, p. 71; cf. *Erec*, vs. 146 and *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1914), 450, n. 1.

³ Cf. the lyric attributed to Chrétien in Brakelmann, *Les plus anciens chansonniers français* (Paris, 1891), p. 35:

Ou a l’entree ai despendue
Mesure et raison ai guerpie.

⁴ The same motif occurs in *Erec*, vs. 5705; *Ivain*, vs. 5115; and the Irish *imrama* (cf. Kuno Meyer, *Voyage of Bran* [London, 1895], I, 28 ff.).

at an adjoining castle (vs. 430 *une tor sor une roche bise*) by a damsel and her two maidens (*puceles*, vs. 437).

6. THE PERILOUS BED, vss. 463-538

In the hall of the castle are three beds, one of which the Knight of the Cart is forbidden to use. He scorns this warning, and at midnight a "flaming lance,"¹ which descends from the rafters (vs. 518 *les lates*), just misses impaling him on the bed.

7. THE TWO BRIDGES TO THE OTHERWORLD (*dont nus estranges ne retorne*, vs. 645), vss. 539-983

The next morning the damsel of the castle awakens the visitors, and, having heard mass, they sit at the windows overlooking the river and the fields. There they behold, riding behind a bier—on which there is a dead knight—the armed stranger and the Queen. As the latter disappear from view, the Knight of the Cart is saved by Gawain from throwing himself out of the window (cf. *Metam.* v. 290: *seque iacit vecors e summae culmine turris*). Then he and Gawain take leave (vs. 595 *come cortois et bien apris*; cf. And. Cap.,² p. 309: *et abeundi curialiter accepta licentia*) and ride until at a crossroad they meet a second damsel, of whom they ask news of the Queen. She exacts promises of service, granted by Gawain but partly withheld by his companion:

Com cil cui amors fet riche
Et puissant et hardi par tot [vs. 634].

¹ The *penon*, 'streamer,' of the lance is burning. As E. C. Armstrong (ed. *Chev. a l'Épée* [Baltimore, 1900], p. 59), points out, vss. 528-31:

Et li fers de la lance passe
Au chevalier lez le costé
Si qu'il li a del cuir osté
Un po, mes ne fu pas bleciez,

are imitated in that poem (vss. 598-601).

² The parallels thus given are to the *De Amore* of Andreas Capellanus (ed. Trojel); for details see chap. III, below.

Thereupon she tells them that the Queen has been abducted by Meleaganz (T reads *Meleaguanz*;¹ E reads *Melleangranz*), son of the king of Gorre (Gower²), to the land

Dont nus estranges ne retorne.

There are two entrances to this land, both dangerous: the first is by the Water Bridge (*soz eve*, vs. 661); the other, the more dangerous, is over the Bridge of the Sword. Of these Gawain chooses the former,³ and the Knight of the Cart the latter. As they take leave, the damsel reminds them of their promise to her. He of the cart, whom Love has in his power (vs. 717 *amor qui le justise*; cf. *Cligès*, vs. 663, *qui me justise*; *Amores* i. 2. 19, *En ego confiteor: tua sum nova praeda, Cupido*), rushes ahead, lost in his thoughts (vs. 726 *A mis les autres en obli*), until he is thrown out of his love-trance and from his horse by a knight who is guarding a ford—a motif that the poet employs again in the *Conte del graal* (vs. 4170), and which recalls And. Cap., reg. XXX: *Verus amans assidua sine intermissione coamantis imaginatione detinetur*.

¹ On the relation of *Meleaganz* to *Melwas* see chap. II. In vs. 656 the father's name is given by Foerster as *Baudemaguz*; in vs. 3157 he gives the form *Bademaguz*, although there MS T has the reading *Baudemaguz*.

As Chrétien has *Bademaguz* live in Bath (vs. 6255 *Li rois a Bade sa cité*), so Geoffrey of Monmouth (*HRB*, II, x) made Bladud founder of Bath. Wace (*Brut*, vss. 1667 ff.) calls Baldus (*Bladud*) a "magician." See E. Brugger, *ZFSL*, XXVIII, 12, who thinks that *Bademaguz* is composed of *Bangon* and *Madus* (*Maduc*); Annette B. Hopkins, *The Influence of Wace on the Arthurian Romances of Crestien de Troyes* (Menasha, Wis., 1913), p. 57, who suggests *Baldus* and *Mabuz* (hence, *Baudemaguz*); on the analogy with *Mabuz* (*Mabon*) and *Evrain* = *Mabona-grain* see p. 9, n. 1, below. *Mabon*, son of *Modron*, is a well-known character in the *Kulhwch* and *Olwen* story (Loth, *Mabinogion*, I, 265): see Philipot, *Rom.*, XXV (1896), 286, and W. J. Gruffydd, "Mabon ab Modron," *Rev. celt.*, XXXIII, 452 ff.

² A reads *Goirre*; T misunderstood and wrote *des Ogres*. Brugger (*ibid.* pp. 1 ff.) has an elaborate argument in favor of deriving *Gorre* from *Strathmore*. Rhys (*Arthurian Legend*, p. 329) suggests *Gower*, which is more likely the source of the name. F. Lot (*Rom.*, XXIV [1895], 331), however, makes the interesting conjecture: "Ne serait-il point possible aussi que le royaume de Gorre fût tout simplement l'île de verre [Welsh *gutr*]?" Maheloas (see p. 21, n. 4, below) is king of an *isle de voire* (*Erec*, vs. 1946).

³ On the two bridges see pp. 54 and 73 below.

The two knights then fight, and Lancelot, who is the victor, releases his opponent at the entreaty of a damsel, who seems to fear (vs. 936) that Lancelot will recognize her—plainly the reader is to divine that she is the original damsel of the crossroad (cf. the prose version). Lancelot now meets another damsel, who offers him lodging provided he will sleep with her; this Lancelot promises with a heavy heart (*li cuers li diaut*, vs. 968), and together they proceed to her abode.

8. ARRIVAL AT THE SECOND CASTLE, vss. 983–1042, 1043–1206

The damsel's hall is large and sumptuous, and, although no servants are visible, Lancelot and the damsel find a table set for their repast. Then the damsel reminds him of his promise, and, being left alone, he presently hears her screaming in another room. When he tries to enter it,¹ however, he is attacked by various men-at-arms who act as if they were automata. But inspired by courage—at the thought of Guenevere (vs. 1110)—he finally succeeds in routing them.

9. THE TEMPTATION, vss. 1207–1292

The damsel now holds Lancelot to his promise. But once in bed, he shows her no favors, for his heart is lodged elsewhere (vs. 1240) and Love (vs. 1245 *qui toz les cuers justise*) forces him to be faithful;² cf. *Amores* i. 3. 153, *non sum desultor amoris*, and *And. Cap.*, *reg. XII*: *Verus amans alterius nisi sue coamantis ex affectu non cupit amplexus*. Realizing this, the damsel lauds the hero's character and is willing to aid him to win her whose lover (vs. 1276 *amis antiers*) he is.

10. THE GOLDEN COMB, vss. 1293–1368; 1369–1553

The damsel, who claims she needs an escort, rides forth with him. Lancelot consents, though indifferent to her talk and suffering from the wound inflicted by Love—for which he is unwilling to seek a

¹ Cf. reference to *Cos*, vs. 1098, "cuckold"!

² G. L. Kittredge (*Gavain and the Green Knight* [Cambridge, Mass., 1916], p. 264) observes in this connection: "Nothing can be clearer than that the damsel is a *fée*, like the *fée* of the Ile d'Or in *Li Biaus Desconneus*, and that the knights and men-at-arms are acting in accordance with her directions in order to "test" Lancelot. . . . As the *fée* of the Ile d'Or plays tricks on her lover, though eager to receive him, so this *fée* plays tricks on Lancelot."

physician (vs. 1353); on this motif see Ovid *Rem.*, verses 129 ff., esp. verse 314: *Et, fateor, medicus turpiter aeger eram*.¹ They come to a spring, bordered by a stone basin, on which they find a comb of gilded ivory. Upon learning from the damsel that the strands of hair² in the comb are Guenevere's, Lancelot, losing his color and power of speech (another Ovidian feature, see *Ars amat.* i. 729: *Palleat omnis amans! hic est color aptus amanti*; *Heroïdes*, xi. 27: *Fugerat ore color, macies adduxerat artus*; it is found in *And. Cap., reg. XV: Omnis consuevit amans in coamantis aspectu pallescere*), would have fallen from his saddle had the damsel not supported him. Finally, they proceed, the damsel in possession of the comb, and Lancelot with the strands of hair pressed to his bosom. Thus they ride over a narrow passage vs. 1513 *une adresece*) toward a knight in whom the damsel recognizes a dangerous suitor.

11. THE RAISING OF THE TOMB, vss. 1553-1660; 1661-1840;
1841-1966; 1967-2022

When the suitor lays claim to the damsel³ Lancelot protests. The denizens of the country, however, cease their joy (vs. 1676 *joie feire*)⁴ as soon as they behold the knight who rode on the cart. The suitor, who persists in his claim, is finally restrained by his father (vs. 1686 *le chevalier chenu*), who has him shackled, much to everyone's surprise. Unimpeded, Lancelot then rides through a meadow to a church in which there are several tombs, some of which are reserved for Arthur's knights. One tomb, in particular, has upon it an inscription stating that he who will raise its top will liberate those imprisoned in that land: *el reaume don nus n'eschape* (vs. 1948). This feat is accomplished by Lancelot; but, when the damsel and the suitor and his father seek to learn his name, he refuses to reveal more than that he is

¹ See E. Faral, *Rom.*, XL (1911), 216; J. L. Löwes, *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1914), 491; and M. B. Ogle, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1912, p. 237.

² This motif is derived from the Tristan story; see below, p. 73.

³ The suitor exults by saying: *De peril sui venuz a port* (vs. 1585); on this Ovidian metaphor see *Rem. Amor.*, vs. 812, and chap. IV, below.

⁴ On this see chap. III, below.

an Arthurian knight. Convinced that he will rescue the Queen (vs. 1984 *rescorre la reine*), they decide to let him go on alone.

12. THE HOSPITABLE HOST, vss. 2023-2198

As he pursues his journey, Lancelot meets a *vavator*¹ returning from a hunt. He offers Lancelot hospitality and sends his son (vs. 2045 *son fil*, not previously mentioned) ahead to prepare for Lancelot. Arriving at the *vavator*'s court, Lancelot is shown every courtesy but is also told of the evil custom of the place (vs. 2108); namely, that all who enter the country are forced to remain. The *vavator*'s people have heard that Lancelot is to rescue the Queen from Meleaganz (vs. 2133), and they spend the evening describing to him the perils of the journey.

13. THE PASSAGE OF STONES, vss. 2219-66

Again Lancelot sets forth accompanied by others, one of whom is the *vavator*'s son (vs. 2189), and in the middle of a narrow passage of stones he meets a man who from a stockade (*bretesche*, vs. 2212) again decries his riding in the cart. Meantime another knight blocks his way and he is threatened by two yeomen with sharp axes (cf. the "automata," above). The knight is routed by Lancelot, whereupon

¹ On this recurrent figure—the Hospitable Host—in the *Charrete* see below, chaps. II and III. A. C. L. Brown (*PMLA*, XX [1905], 677, n. 4) has given a good analysis of his traits. For the sake of later reference, the following parallels are cited here:

1. The *vavator* in the first part of the *Erec* (vss. 375 ff.): He is *auques de jorz*. He has a daughter, Enide, whom the hero woos. The adversary is his "nephew," Ider, son of Nut (vs. 1045).

2. Evrain in the Joie de la Cour episode of the *Erec*, vss. 5549 ff.: The adversary, Mabonagrain (vs. 7070), is his "nephew." The latter wears *armes vermoilles* and is a giant (vs. 5898). His shape-shifting character is apparent; cf. his name, which is composed of *Mabon* and *Evrain*, and see F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXIV (1895), 321 ff., who says: "En effet, *Mabonagrain* ne peut être qu'un doublet du roi *Evrain*." For an explanation of this episode see Philipot, *Rom.*, XXV (1896), 286 ff.

3. The *vavator* in *Ivain* (vss. 209 ff.): He has a daughter. He entertains Calogrenant and Ivain. The adversary is Esclados li Ros. As Brown (*Ivain*, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 135) states: "The royal entertainer, Evrain . . . is a parallel figure" to this personage.

4. Ivenant in the romance of *Yder* (cf. below, p. 23): He sends the hero to his castle, where the latter is wooed by the host's wife. But, as in the *Charrete*, the

the yeomen with the axes allow Lancelot and his company to pass unharmed.

14. THE FALLING PORTCULLIS, vss. 2267-2450

They are then offered hospitality by a new host who urges them to speed to his abode. On the way they learn that the captives from Logres are attacking the inhabitants of the land. Arriving at a stronghold (*forteresce*, vs. 2326) on a hill, they enter it over a moat, when a gate is lowered behind them at their very heels. Riding forward, they reach another gate, through which their host passes while they are stopped by a falling portcullis. Lancelot has a ring, given him by the fairy that brought him up (vs. 2359 *Et si le norri an s'anfance*) in order to protect him against enchantment.¹ He gazes at the ring and realizes that he and his companions are indeed shut in. But, after a brief search, they find a postern, through which they cut their way

hero's love for his own lady (Guenloë) is proof to the blandishments of other ladies. See the parallels to this in the *Chev. à l'Epée*, the *Carle of Carlisle*, and the *Humbaut*, as set forth by Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 83 ff.

5. Arawn in the Mabinogi of *Pwyll* (trans. by Loth, Vol. I): He exchanges kingships with the hero, who takes Arawn's shape. The hero then goes to Annwryn to fight Hafgan, Arawn's adversary. There he is received by *la plus belle femme du monde*. She goes to bed with him, but he *lui tourna le dos*, an action that he repeats for a year. The lady is Arawn's wife, and the incident is termed a test of *compagnonnage* (Loth, I, 31, n. 3). Cf. *Charrete*, vs. 3225, and our discussion below, p. 12.

6. The "host" in *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight* (see Kittredge, *op. cit.*): He is tall, stalwart, and "of high age." He goes away to hunt, while his wife, more "beautiful than Guinevere," offers her charms to the hero. The Grene Chapel, described as a fairy-mound (cf. the "chapel" in the *Ivain* and the penetrating remarks of J. Hulbert, *Mod. Phil.*, XII [1916], 703 ff.), is but two miles distant. Finally, the Grene Knight reveals himself as "identical" with the host and informs the hero that he had been "testing" his loyalty.

In each of the episodes mentioned above Temptation and Challenge (Combat) are designed to test the hero's character in an Otherworld adventure.

¹ The "falling portcullis" and the "ring" recall similar features in the *Ivain*, vss. 945 ff. and 1023 ff. Here, however, the ring does not make the wearer invisible, as in *Ivain* and like the ring of Gyges, on which see M. Wilmette, *L'évolution du roman franç.*, Paris, 1903, p. 24, n., and K. F. Smith, *Amer. Journ. Philol.*, XXIII (1903), 261. In the *Rigomer* (ed. Foerster), p. 182, there is a ring which induces weakness, and in *Amadas et Idoine*, vss. 6406 ff., one which brings on death.

with swords and thus join the people from Logres, who are attacking the enemy.

15. ANOTHER HOSPITABLE HOST, vss. 2451-2614

Lancelot is now welcomed by the Logres captives, who vie with one another in offering him "hospitality." He calms them by urging them to unite against the foe, and, after spending the night with one of them, he proceeds with his original two companions to a house where a lady and her daughters receive them handsomely, and where they are presently joined by a master and his sons who have been hunting (vs. 2560; cf. the same motif under § 12). As they all sit at the evening meal, they are startled by the arrival of a stranger, armed from head to feet, seated on a charger and looking prouder than a bull (vs. 2582 *Plus orgueilleus que n'est uns tors*). He challenges Lancelot for wishing to cross the Sword Bridge (vs. 2597) and upbraids him for his lack of shame at mounting the cart (vs. 2610).

16. THE PROUD CHALLENGER AND THE LOATHSOME DAMSEL,
vss. 2615-90; 2691-2792; 2793-2979

Stung by the stranger's insults, Lancelot accepts the challenge and sallies forth to fight. The challenger is wounded and asks for mercy. This Lancelot will grant, provided the knight himself will mount a cart—a condition he refuses to accept. A damsel on a tawny mule (vs. 2796 *sor une fauve mure ... si tenoit une corgiee*)¹ then appears. She is *desafublee et destliee*, and asks of Lancelot a boon (vs. 2813 *un don*), which he hastens to grant; whereupon she orders him to cut off his opponent's head and present it to her. Alternately swayed by his compassion for his vanquished foe and his promise to the damsel, Lancelot grants the knight a fresh combat. As the latter is again conquered, Lancelot now has no choice but to obey the damsel's command, and she rides away with the knight's head after promising to

¹ In the Chrétien's *Conte del graal*, vs. 4573, the Loathy Messenger is similarly described:

Une damoisele, qui vint
Sor une mule fauve et tint
En sa main destre une escorgiee.

repay Lancelot's service. The interrupted meal is then resumed, and the host, now termed a *vavasor* (vs. 2967), renews his hospitality to Lancelot.

17. THE CROSSING OF THE SWORD-BRIDGE

vss. 2979-3020; 3021-3194

The following day the host shows his guests the road to the Sword Bridge. It lies across a swift stream, as terrible as if it were the very devil's (vs. 3026 *li fluns au deable*). The bridge itself consists of a polished, gleaming sword,¹ two lances in length, with either end firmly fixed in the trunk of a tree. His companions, who suspect that there are lions or leopards at the farther end of the bridge, warn Lancelot, but to no avail, not to cross it. Removing the armor from his feet and hands, he crawls across it in great pain and agony—though Love, who leads him, assuages his suffering (vs. 3128). On the other side there stands a tower (vs. 3152 *une tor*), and at the window sits King Bademaguz—scrupulous about honor and loyalty—and next to him stands Meleaganz, his son—full of disloyalty and treason.

18. THE QUARREL OF FATHER AND SON,

vss. 3195-3318; 3319-3490

Bademaguz, recognizing that Lancelot is the "best knight of the world," urges his son to yield him the Queen and to offer to be his *conpainz*.² This leads to a prolonged discussion, the result of which is that Meleaganz persists in his claim, while Bademaguz offers his aid to Lancelot (cf. above, No. 11) and assures him that his son has not violated the Queen:

Et la reine a tel prison

Que nus de char a li n'adoise [vss. 3378-79].

He will have the combat deferred, but Lancelot is anxious to fight with even such armor as he has brought.

¹ See Laura Hibbard, *Rom. Review*, IV (1913), 179, who points out that in the Irish *Tochmarc Emere* the bridge to the Otherworld is as "sharp as an *orrdladh*."

² On this custom see W. A. Stowell, *PMLA* (1913), 410 ff., and our discussion below, chap. III.

19. COMBAT WITH MELEAGANZ, vss. 3491-3684; 3685-3954

Lancelot, to whom Bademaguz has offered fresh armor and whose wounds have been treated overnight (vs. 3501 reference to Montpellier), now meets Meleaganz on the field of battle in front of a tower. There sits Guenevere as a spectator. At first Meleaganz has the upper hand. Presently, however, a damsel wishing to encourage the hero asks Guenevere his name. To this the Queen replies that he is *Lancelot del Lac*.¹ Shouting his name to those present, the damsel induces Lancelot to fix his gaze on where the Queen sits in the tower:

Qu' amors li fet mout grant aïe [vs. 3739],²

and:

Devant la reine sa dame,
Qui li a mise el cors la flame,
Por qu'il la va si regardant [vss. 3767-69].

Thus encouraged, he gradually drives Meleaganz to bay.

Finally, Bademaguz intercedes in behalf of his son, and Guenevere expresses the wish that Lancelot should stop fighting. Then he, as one who is *obeïssanz* (vs. 3816) and an *amis antiers* (vs. 3813; cf. *Ars am.* ii. 228 and *And. Cap.*, p. 9), allows Meleaganz to hold the field. The consequence is that Bademaguz causes Meleaganz to be seized, lest he kill Lancelot (same motif, above, No. 11), and an agreement is made to postpone the combat until one year from the date set by Meleaganz, at the court of Arthur (vs. 3900). Amid the rejoicing of the Logres people, Lancelot is brought to the Queen.

¹ This (vs. 3676) is the first occurrence of the name in the *Charrete*. For a similar procedure see the *Conte del graal*, where Perceval's name is not revealed until vs. 3537.

But Lancelot del Lac is already one of Arthur's knights in *Erec*, vs. 1694. Foerster follows Zimmer, *ZFSL*, XIII, 43-58, in deriving the name from Frankish **Lant-* plus a diminutive ending which gives *Lancelin* or *Lanceloc* in Breton territory.

It is more probable, however, that the name is identical with the *Llenlleawc* to be found in *Kulhwch and Olwen* (Loth², I, 276); cf. Lot, *Rom.*, LI (1925), 423. His surname is *Gwyddel* = 'Irishman.' For the latest discussion see R. S. Loomis, *Rom.*, LIV (1928), 517.

² On vs. 3758 *devant la serue et logiee* (MS T), which Foerster incorrectly interprets as *devant l'a servie et loïee*, see chap. IV, below.

20. THE HAUGHTINESS OF GUENEVERE, vss. 3955-4030;
4031-4124; 4125-4262; 4263-4414; 4415-40

But when Guenevere sees Bademaguz leading Lancelot to her she pretends to be angry and refuses to greet him. Yet so well bred is Lancelot as a lover (vs. 3980 *fin amant*),¹ that he dares not question her; so he takes his departure, leaving his *heart*² with her (vs. 3994), while his eyes, filled with tears, depart with his *body* (vs. 3998 *avec le cors*). Bademaguz then takes Lancelot to Kay, who lauds the courtesy of Bademaguz but can offer no explanation for Guenevere's conduct. Lancelot now plans to seek Gawain in the direction of the

¹ The use of *fin amanz* and *amis antiers* is discussed in chap. IV. The term is first used by Chrétien in *Cligés*, vs. 3861:

Por quoi avient a fins amanz
Que sans lor faut et hardemanz
A dire ce qu'il ont an pans.

Among the early Provençals, Marcabré (ed. Dejeanne) mentions (XL, 2) *fin' amors*; Cercamon (see Dejeanne, *Annales du Midi*, XVII [1905], 27-62) states:

Per fin amor m'esjauzira
Tant quant fai chaut ni s'esfrezis;

and Bernart de Ventadorn (ed. Appel) not only refers to the *fin aman* (No. 37) but distinguishes *li fin amador* from *li faus* (No. 31)—an idea taken up by Chrétien in *Ivain*, vss. 20 ff.

² See Moritz Schittenhelm, *Zur stilistischen Anwendung des Wortes cuer in der altfranzösischen Dichtung*, Halle, 1907; E. Wechssler, *Kulturproblem des Minnesangs*, Halle, 1909, Vol. I, p. 227, lists the Provençal examples. This rhetorical conceit is found as early as Thomas' *Tristan*, vs. 1023:

Elle a le cors, le cuer ne volt;

it also occurs in *Cligés*, vs. 2823:

Ne dirai pas si con cil dient,
Qui a un cors deus cuers alient;

and in *Ivain*, vss. 2639 ff.:

Mes sire Yvains mout a anviz,
S'est de la dame departiz
Et si que li cuers ne s'an muet,
Li rois le cors mener an puet.

Cf. *Eracle*, ed. Löseth, vss. 3691-93 and 3708-9; and Conon de Béthune, Brakelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 76:

Se li cors va servir Nostre Signor,
Toz li miens cuers remaint en sa baillie.

Water Bridge. Accordingly, he offers the people whom he has liberated the choice of going with him or of staying with the Queen.

But as Lancelot goes forth unarmed, the followers of Bademaguz make him a prisoner—and rumor, flying swiftly,¹ reports to Bademaguz and the Queen that Lancelot has been killed.

It is now Guenevere's turn to lament;² she tries to strangle herself, her beauty fades, she goes for two days without food or drink—and rumor now reaches Lancelot that she is dead. He first tries to hang himself but his men interfere. Then he, in turn, utters a long lament: Is his mounting into the cart the cause of his lady's sorrow and death? But, truly, it is

*amors et cortoisie*³

Quanqu'an puet feire por s'amie [vs. 4377].

And there follows a long passage on obedience and service (vs. 4395)⁴ on the part of true lovers (vs. 4386 *ami vrai*). Finally, the false rumors are corrected; both Lancelot and Guenevere are reassured; and Lancelot is led back to Bademaguz' castle, where Guenevere impatiently awaits him.

21. THE LOVE TRYST, vss. 4551–4650; 4651–4754

Being reconciled with Guenevere, Lancelot waits until Night's mantle has enfolded Day, and going stealthily through the castle garden he reaches the Queen's bower. Here he wounds his hands by pulling the bars out of her window, and passing close to the bed where

¹ On *novele* as "fame" or rumor see Nitze, *Mélanges Jeanroy* (1928), pp. 437–46.

² The *plet d'amor*, already used in *Cligés*, is of course Ovidian; for particulars see F. E. Guyer, *Rom. Rev.*, XII (1921), 103 ff.

³ The association of *amors* and *cortoisie* is treated in chap. IV, below. Chrétien, *Ivain*, vs. 21, remarks wistfully:

Car cil qui soloient amer
Se feisoient cortois clamer;

and again in a lyric (Brakelmann, I, 44) he says:

Nuls, s'il n'est cortois et sages,
Ne puet d'amor rien aprendre.

⁴ In vs. 4400 MS T reads *S'ont fet ce de quoi l'en me blasme*.

Kay sleeps, he spends the night in Guenevere's embrace. Returning to his own quarters in the morning (vs. 4775 *li cors s'an vet, li cuers sejourne*; cf. vs. 3994), he notices his bloodstained fingers but makes light of the fact.

22. THE FALSE ACCUSATION, vss. 4755-5006; 5007-5198

But the blood from Lancelot's wounded fingers has left its trace upon Guenevere's bed, and Meleaganz accuses her to Bademagus of having lain with Kay, whose own wounds had bled afresh during the night. Sending word secretly to Lancelot, the Queen presents him as her defender. Saints' relics are brought, and Lancelot solemnly swears¹ that Kay is innocent of the crime with which he is accused (vs. 4976 and vs. 4992 *et si rejur Qu'il n'i jut ne ne la santi*). Then Lancelot and Meleaganz engage in fresh combat, which is again interrupted by Bademaguz. This leaves Lancelot free to seek Gawain; on the road to the Water Bridge he is met by a craven dwarf who makes him a prisoner. His companions, not knowing where he is, continue the journey until they reach the spot where Gawain is crossing the Water Bridge (vs. 5126), and the latter agrees to go and seek Lancelot.

23. THE RETURN TO ARTHUR'S COURT, vss. 5199-5256;
5257-5378

While the Queen is being reassured by Gawain that he will find the lost Lancelot, a youth (vs. 5261 *uns vaslez*) brings a letter to Bademaguz purporting to come from Lancelot and stating that he is safe and sound at Arthur's court. Accordingly, the Queen, accompanied by Gawain and Kay, starts for home—only to learn, on arriving there, that the letter was a forgery and that no one knows where Lancelot is.

¹ This may properly be called the *Escondit Ké* (vs. 4879 *Fet Kes, et si m'escondirai*). See the false oath of Isolt in Beroul, *Tristan*, vss. 4199-4215 (vs. 4198 *saintes reliques voi je ci*), and in Thomas, *Tristan*, chap. xxiv, p. 210 ("On apporte les reliques des saints, pour qu'elle puisse jurer sur elles"). It is clear that Chrétien is here following the Tristan story; cf. Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt* (Frankfort, 1913), p. 223.

24. THE THREE DAYS' TOURNAMENT,¹ vss. 5379-5514;
5515-94; 5595-5640; 5641-6104

The Lady of Noauz proclaims a tournament against the Lady of Pomlegloi as a "wooing" festival.² This news is brought to Guenevere, who promises to attend; and to Lancelot, languishing in prison, who obtains from the mistress of the abode the permission to be present on the usual promise that he become her lover (vs. 5501). She lends him the red armor (vs. 5519) and the horse of Meleaganz. Arriving at Noauz, Lancelot is discovered by a herald, who announces him to the assembly by shouting (vs. 5591):

Or est venuz qui aunera,

a cry that was then first taught us (*nos*³), says Chrétien.

At first Lancelot, opposed in the tournament by the son of the Irish king, is victorious. Then Guenevere sends her damsel to him with the command to play the coward (vs. 5674 *au noauz*), and he, as one who is entirely hers (vs. 5676), allows himself to be defeated.⁴

On the second day, there is first an enumeration of the knights in

¹ As a test of valor (for love) the episode, here reduced to two days, has its origin in the *Hist. reg. Brit.*, Book IX, chap. xiii, of Geoffrey of Monmouth; for discussion, see chaps. III and IV, below. On the folk-lore side of the episode, see Jessie L. Weston, *Three Days' Tournament*, Grimm Library 15, London, 1902; G. Paris *Journal des Savants*, 1902, pp. 449 ff.; C. H. Carter, in the *Haverford Essays* (Haverford, Pa., 1909), pp. 246 ff.; cf. Nitze, *MLN*, XVIII (1903), 154 ff.

The episode, occurring in some eighteen romances, awaits a thoroughgoing study by a trained folklorist. Meantime, the idea of *faire au noauz* ('playing the coward') occurs in only three versions: here, in the *Perlesvaus* (ed. Potvin), 235 (*Perceval le Gallois*, I), and in the *Chev. du Papegau* (ed. Heuckenkamp), pp. 29 ff.

² On this folk custom see C. R. Baskervill, *Studies in Philology*, XVII (1920), 19-87.

³ G. Paris, *Rom.*, XII, 480, n. 1, remarks: "Ce *nos* n'a guère de sens s'il ne s'applique à l'auteur lui-même associé aux autres hérauts; il paraît difficile de croire que ce cri ait été poussé, au temps de Chrétien, par d'autres que les hérauts." But see Foerster, *Karrenritter*, p. 411, for a different explanation. *Aunera* may be rendered 'will set the pace'; literally, 'will measure with a yardstick.'

⁴ Chrétien apparently has made two days of the tournament into one. In the *Perlesvaus* (*loc. cit.*) the cowardice motif occurs on the second day; cf. Nitze, *Perlesvaus* (Baltimore, 1902), p. 9.

the tournament, and when Lancelot appears—always ready to do Guenevere's command—she finally sends word to him to do his best (vs. 5909 *le miauz*). Thus Lancelot is the victor and Guenevere has the satisfaction of seeing the women fall in love with him, and, since Lancelot has returned to his prison, she rejoices in their disappointment. As a result the tournament is adjourned.

25. THE IMPRISONMENT OF LANCELOT, vss. 6105–66;
6167–6220; 6221–6458; 6459–6656

On Lancelot's return Meleaganz has a tower of stone built on an island near Gorre (Gower). Here Lancelot is walled in (vs. 6153);¹ the only opening left is a small window through which he receives food. This accomplished, Meleaganz repairs to Arthur's court and presents himself for the combat in behalf of Guenevere. Arthur is helpless, but Gawain promises to find Lancelot before the year is up (vs. 6228); otherwise, he will assume the combat in Lancelot's place. Returning to Bade on his father's birthday (vs. 6256 *jorz fu de sa natevité*), Meleaganz boasts to Bademaguz of his triumph at Arthur's court. Again the father reproves him for his discourtesy and hardness of heart, but to no avail. Meantime, Meleaganz' sister (mentioned first in vs. 6262) sets out alone to find the hero. Led by Fortune, the maiden comes to the tower, and finding a pick, she enables Lancelot to dig his way out. Taking him to her dwelling, she cares for him so well that he promises her (vs. 6706)²

mon cuer, mon cors
Et mon servise et mon avoir.

She then gives him a fine horse, upon which he sets out for the court.

26. THE LAST COMBAT, vss. 6729–7004; 7005–7119

Meantime, Meleaganz has appeared and challenges Gawain, who, mounted on a horse better than Bucephalus (vs. 6802 *Bucifaus*), is

¹ Here Godefroi de Leigni takes up the story.

² Here the idea is again stressed that Lancelot, like Lanzelet (see A. C. L. Brown, *MP*, XVII [1919], 373 ff.), inspires love; cf. *Lanzelet* (ed. Hahn), vs. 5528: *dô muose aber briuten der wipsaelige Lanzelet*.

about to attack when Lancelot dismounts in front of them. Great rejoicing ensues; the Queen grants him her heart—which her body almost follows (vs. 6851 *que li cors le cuer ne siuoit*). Seated beneath a sycamore, Arthur makes ready to preside over the combat. Lancelot, trained in fencing since his youth (vs. 7076), is an easy victor, and having subdued Meleaganz, he cuts off his head.

27. THE EPILOGUE, vss. 7120-34

Here Godefroiz de Leigni concludes the romance (vs. 7123). He had continued it from the point where Lancelot was *anmurez*.

II

THE *MATIERE* OF THE ROMANCE

AT THE beginning of the *Charrete* (vs. 27) Chrétien tells us that he received from *la contesse* (i.e., Mary of France, who became Countess of Champagne in 1164) both the *matiere* and the *sens* of his romance. The second of these two elements will be treated in a subsequent chapter,¹ the first—the *matiere* or ‘subject matter’—is the object of the present discussion.²

As is obvious from the summary of the *Charrete* given above,³ the plot consists of: (1) Queen Guenevere’s abduction by Meleaganz and her recovery by Lancelot, (2) a visit to the Otherworld. In what form did these themes reach Chrétien? From what source did they come? The purpose of the following pages is to present as succinctly as possible the evidence bearing on these questions.

§ 1

As a preliminary to any intelligent investigation of the sources of the *Charrete*, it is necessary to summarize several other medieval documents in which the abduction of Guenevere is referred to or described.

1. In point of composition the oldest account of the abduction of Guenevere is the story of Modred’s unhallowed union with the Queen, as recorded by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia regum Britanniae*, written between 1136 and 1138.⁴ While Arthur is abroad engaged in a campaign against Lucius Hiberius,

nunciatur ei Modredum nepotem suum⁵ cuius tutelae commiserat Britanniam, ejusdem diademate per tyrannidem et proditionen insignitum esse;

¹ Pp. 63 ff.

² By Professor Cross.

³ Pp. 3 ff.

⁴ Book X, chap. xiii; Book XI, chap. i. See *Speculum*, II (1927), 34 n.; Acton Griscom, *The Hist. reg. Brit. of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York, 1929), 88 f.; Edmund Faral, *La légende arthurienne* (Paris, 1929), II, 26 f.

⁵ On *Modredus*, translated by Welsh *Medrawd*, see Zimmer, *ZFSL*, XII (1890), 254. The Cornish form is *Modred*; the Breton is *Modrot*.

reginamque Guanhumaram violato jure priorum nuptiarum, eidem nefanda venere copulatam esse.

Arthur returns immediately for the purpose of taking vengeance. He slays Modred in battle, but is himself grievously wounded and departs for the Isle of Avalon to be healed. The unhappy Queen flees to the City of Legions, where she assumes the veil and resolves to lead a chaste life among the nuns of the church of Julius the Martyr.

2. Somewhat later in date of composition but probably more archaic in character is the story of Guenevere's abduction in the *Vita Gildae*,¹ composed, apparently between 1145 and 1160,² by Caradoc of Llancarvan.³ The episode in question runs as follows:

St. Gildas finds his missionary labors in the Western Isles disturbed by piratical raids.

Gildas . . . unde afflictus nimium non potuit ibi amplius habitare, reliquit insulam [one of the Orkneys], ascendit naviculam et ingressus est Glastoniam cum magno dolore, Melvas rege regnante in aestiva regione. . . . Glastonia, id est Urbs Vitrea, quae nomen sumsit a vitro, est urbs nomine primitus in Britannico sermone. Obsessa est itaque ab Arturo tyranno cum innumeraibili multitudine propter Guennuvar uxorem suam violatam et raptam a praedicto iniquo rege et ibi ductam propter refugium inviolati loci propter munitiones arundineti et fluminis ac paludis cause tutelae. Quaesiverat rex rebellis reginam per unius anni circulum, audivit tandem illam remanentem: Illico commovit exercitus totius Cornubiae et Dibneniae; paratum est bellum inter inimicos. Hoc viso abbas Glastoniae comitante clero et Gilda Sapiente intravit medias acies, consuluit Melvas regi suo pacifice, ut redderet raptam. reddita ergo fuit, quae reddenda fuerat, per pacem et benivolentiam. His peractis duo reges largiti sunt abbati multa territoria [p. 109].⁴

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, XIII. (*Auct. Ant.*, *Chron. Min.* iii, 1894), 107.

² See Gaston Paris, *Rom.*, X (1881), 490 (cf. XII, 512); Lot, *Rom.*, XXIV (1895), 330 (cf. *Rom.*, XXVII, 564 f.). See also Rhys, *Arthurian Legend* (Oxford, 1891), p. 52; Zimmer, *ZFSL*, XII (1890), 252; Fletcher, [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes*, X (1906), 105; Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt* (Frankfort, 1913), II, 530, n. 1.

³ F. Lot, *Mélanges bretonnes* (Paris, 1907), p. 269; *Rom.*, XXVII (1898), 566; Zimmer, *ZFSL*, XII, 248.

⁴ Emil Greulich (*Die Arthursage in der "Historia regum Britanniae"* [Halle, 1916], pp. 99 ff.) regards the Melvas (Melwas) story as the source of Geoffrey's

3. Evidence in twelfth-century art of an apparently similar abduction story has been found in the Modena Sculpture (dated before 1150).¹ The sculpture is a bas-relief on the architrave (see frontispiece) of the Porta della Pescharia of the cathedral at Modena, Italy. Its exact date, if that can ever be ascertained, is still in dispute.

account of Modred and as a piece of native British tradition adapted to the life of Gildas. Cf. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

Foerster (*Karrenritter*, p. xxxviii), quoting Zimmer (*ZFSL*, XII), says: "Maelwas ist aus *mael* und *gwas* regelrecht entstanden; das *w* in *Maelwas* ist kein solches, welches sich zu *gu* wandelt, sondern der Rest eines *gw*, ein *u* oder *o*, daher auch im *Erec*, v. 1946, das *Maheloas* eine gute Wiedergabe eines bret. *Maelwas* (d.h. *Maelwas*, *Maeloas*) ist, wie *Cadoalens*, *Cadoalanz*, altbr. *Catwallon*, mittelbr. *Cadwallen*."

Rhys (*Arthurian Legend*, p. 51) interprets *mael* (Ir. *mál*) as 'hero' or 'prince,' and *gwas* as 'youth' or 'young man.' The view of Lot (*Rom.*, XXVIII, 328) that *Maelwas* signifies 'king of the dead' is now rejected; see K. Meyer, *Sitzb. der preuss. Akad. der Wissensch.*, 1919, p. 545.

Since the *Maheloas* mentioned by Chrétien (*Erec*, vs. 1946) is lord of an *Isle de Voire* (cf. Glastonbury), there can be no doubt that he is identical with the character in Caradoc. Obviously, Chrétien did not himself identify him with *Meleaganz*—in whom Gaston Paris (*Rom.*, XII, 502) recognizes a derivative of *Maelwas*. Perhaps the form *Meleaganz* is due to contamination with the classical *Meleager* (*Heroides* ix. 151); cf. Rajna, *Rom.*, XVII (1888), 177.

Meljahkanz appears as an abductor in Wolfram's *Parzival* (ed. Martin), III, 125, 7:

'zwêne ritter unde ein magt
dâ riten hiute morgen.
diu frouwe fuor mit sorgen:
mit sporn si vaste ruorten,
die die juncfrouwen fuorten.'
es was Meljahkanz.
den ergâhte Karnahkarnanz,
mit strîte er im die frouwen nam:
diu was dâ vor an freuden lam.
die hiez Imâne
von der Beâfontâne.

¹ See Foerster, *Zeit. für rom. Phil.*, XXII (1898), 243 ff. and 526 ff. The best modern discussion is that by R. S. Loomis, "The Date, Source, and Subject of the Arthurian Sculpture at Modena," [*Schoepperle*] *Medieval Studies* (Paris and New York, 1927), pp. 209 ff.; also the same author in *Romanic Review*, XV (1924), 270 ff. For the most recent discussion of the date see Kingsley-Porter, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, 109 ff.

In the middle of the sculpture

is a fortress consisting of a central tower, a wall, a moat, and on each side, a barbican. Within the fortress are a man labeled Mardoc and a woman labeled Winlogee, both in a state of terror. Before the left barbican stands a man, Burmaltus, brandishing a *baculus cornutus*. Three mounted knights come charging against him: Artus de Bretania, Isdernus, and another unnamed. From the right barbican rides out a knight, Carrado, and against him ride three knights, Galvagus, Galvariun, and Che.¹

There can be little doubt that Professor Loomis is right in identifying the scene with an abduction of Winlogee or Guenevere. Winlogee, a Breton name,² occurs in the French form of Guenloïe in the Old French *Yder* and, again, in the *Chevalier as deus Espees*, verses 91-93:

Guinloïe
Ki loiaus drue et fine amie
A mon seigneur Gauvain estoit.

In the *Yder*³ she is wooed and won by Yder (vss. 5200 ff.). But the same romance represents Guenevere also as saying to Arthur (vs. 5219):

Si mi sires Yder m'av(e)reit,
C'est cil dont meins me desplaireit.

This relationship, as Gelzer points out, is supported by the Berne *Folie Tristan*, vss. 234-37:

Onques Yder, qui ocist l'ors,
N'ot tant ne poines ne dolors
Por Guenievre, la fame Artur,
Con je por vos, car je en mur.

Thus, it can hardly be doubted that Winlogee and Guenevere are parallel figures.

As for Mardoc, this name is the phonetic equivalent of Maldue (der

¹ Quoted from Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

² Akin to *Winvaloe*, *Winlowen*, Lat. *Gwendoloena*; see H. Zimmer, *ZFSL*, XIII, 12; W. Foerster, *ZrPh*, XXII, 243 ff.; and J. Loth, *Chrestom. bretonne* (1890), p. 147.

³ See H. Gelzer, "Der altf. Yderroman," *Gesellsch. f. rom. Lit.* (Dresden, 1913), No. 31.

Wise) of *Lanzelet*, verses 7353 ff.—the Mauduiz li Sages of *Erec*, verse 1699, Malduz der Weise of *Diu Crône*, verse 1379, Maduc le Noir of *La Vengeance de Raguidel*, verse 2750, etc.¹ In the *Lanzelet* (see below)² his rôle is to assist Arthur in the rescue of the Queen. Since the Mardoc of the sculpture is in the fortress with Winloge, it is tempting to see in him the abductor; that is, the equivalent of Melvas.³ On the other hand, the more plausible view is to regard him as the “sage” of the story, the Gildas of the *Vita Gildae*. The fact that Artus, Isdernus (Ider),⁴ Galvagin (Gauvain), and Che (Kay) are storming the fortress would support either hypothesis.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the name of Lancelot is not found in the sculpture. He did not become the Queen’s rescuer until Chrétien made him so in the *Charrete* (see below, pp. 52, 66).

4. An account of the abduction of Guenevere occurs in Ulrich von Zatzikoven’s Middle-High-German romance of *Lanzelet*,⁵ which dates probably from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century (certainly

¹ Maruc appears as an enchanter in *Partonopeus de Blois* (ed. Crapelet), II, 28–31 (vss. 5827–5916).

² P. 25.

³ The name *Mardoc* has the rather common diminutive ending *-oc*, Ir. *oóc*, W. *-awc*; cf. *Madawc*, *Kadawc*, *Gwydawc*, *Llwyddawc*, and *Caradawc* (Lat. *Caratacus*, OFr. *Caradoc*); cf. Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, II, 829, where we find *Madocus*, *vicus Maioci*, acy. *Matóc*. w. *Matauc*, *Madawg*, *Madog*.

Since *Mauduiz* presupposes *Malduc*, the latter form would seem earlier than *Mardoc* (cf. *Mardocheus*). Possibly the first part of the name is Ir. *mál*, W. *mael*, ‘prince,’ as above. But Philipot’s theory (*Rom.*, XXV, 286) that *Malduc* is the same personage as Mabon, son of Modron (Loth, *Mabinogion*, I, 265), has no phonetic justification.

⁴ On the association of Ider with Glastonbury see H. Gelzer, *op. cit.*, pp. liv ff., and the discussion of Lot, *Rom.*, XXVII, 459; Baist, *ZrPh*, XIX, 326; W. W. Newell, *PMLA*, XVIII, 459 ff.; also the passage from William of Malmesbury outlined below, p. 26, n. 3. Foerster (*ZrPh*, XXII, 247) admits that “Rajna’s Namenstudien, *Rom.*, XVII, sicherten den Namen Artus [in Italy] für 1122, aber so, dass sein Träger spätestens 1090 geboren sein musste. Es muss also Artus in Italien schon Ende des XI. Jahrhunderts wohlbekannt, verbreitet und volkstümlich geworden sein.” Further, he concedes (p. 248) that the names in the architrave lead us “weit über alle bisher bekannten in eine sehr alte Zeit hinauf.”

⁵ Ed. by K. A. Hahn, Frankfurt, 1845, vss. 6565 ff.

after 1194).¹ This romance is based on a *welsches buoch* (obviously a French text²) which was carried to Germany by Hugh de Morville, an Angevin adherent who went to Vienna in February, 1194, as a hostage for the release of Richard I.³

The abduction story in *Lanzelet* runs as follows:

Lanzelet,⁴ who is yet known to Ginover [Guenevere] only by reputation, learns that a certain Valerín desires to get possession of the Queen. He visits Arthur's court, only to learn that Ginover has already been abducted. Valerín had come to Arthur, and on being assured that the king would not grow angry at any request he might make, demanded the Queen, asserting that she had been promised to him before she was of marriageable age. He consented, however, to allow a week's respite and to stake his claim upon a trial by combat. Lanzelet offers himself as Ginover's champion and defeats Valerín.

A year later, while Arthur is hunting the white stag, Valerín surprises the party and carries Ginover off to his castle. In order to recover his lost spouse, Arthur assembles an army with his son Lout in command, and, at the suggestion of Tristan, enlists the services of a magician named Malduc,⁵ who promises his help before he knows what is required of him and is thus committed to the undertaking. Malduc consults his books of magic and by so doing learns that Ginover is asleep in a castle protected by thickets, mists, and wild beasts. He then puts the guards to sleep, thus enabling Lout and his band of retainers to awaken the Queen and rescue her.

5. The Middle-High-German romance *Iwein*,⁶ composed by Hartman von Aue about 1205, contains an account of the abduction derived probably from Chrétien's *Ivain* (vss. 3919 ff.) and indirectly

¹ Cf. Jakob Bächtold, *Der Lanzelet* (Frauenfeld, 1870), p. 37.

² On the relative priority of the lost French source and Chrétien's *Charrete* see Paris, *Rom.*, X, 476 ff.; XII, 459 ff., and Foerster, *Karrenritter*, pp. xli and lxxix.

³ See W. H. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (New York, 1906), p. 234; Bächtold, *op. cit.*, p. 35; G. Paris, *Rom.*, X, 471. On Hugh de Morville as one of the assassins of Becket in 1170, see R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II* (London, 1878), pp. 150 and 152.

⁴ He is referred to as Lanzelet du (del) Lac at various points earlier and later in the romance: see vss. 5092, 5158, 5545, 5578, *et passim*.

⁵ On Malduc der Wise, *Lanzelet*, vss. 7353-64, see above, p. 24, n. 3.

⁶ Ed. by E. Heinrici, Halle, 1891, vss. 4526 ff. See also vss. 5678 ff.

from the *Charrete*, but differing in at least one important respect from both.

Instead of offering to fight, the abductor [Meljakanz], on coming to Arthur's court, asks a boon. The King at first prudently refuses to commit himself, but on being reviled by the stranger, at last consents. The visitor then demands the Queen, but proposes to stake her on a combat with any of Arthur's knights, and as no contestants offer themselves, carries her off. Kei follows, but meets with defeat—a fate that befalls all other pursuers except Gawain, who finally restores the Queen.¹

6. The abduction of Guenevere is described in the French romance of *Durmart le Gallois*,² which dates from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

Durmart, while riding through the forest on business of his own, learns that a grave misfortune has befallen Arthur's court, here placed near Glastonbury. Bruns de Morois, a rich and powerful king who has loved Guenevere for seven years and tried vainly to abduct her, has at last come across her hunting in the forest under the sole escort of Yder, son of Nu, and carried her off to his castle, declaring that he would abandon his prize to whoever could overcome him in fight. Durmart proceeds to Bruns' castle, which he finds strongly fortified. Its walls are decorated with the shields of conquered knights. Within are a company of ladies and youths amusing themselves. Guided by an ugly dwarf, Durmart, accompanied by Yder, gains access to the castle, where he succeeds in overcoming Bruns and liberating the Queen. Guenevere returns to court with Yder.³

¹ In *Gârel von dem Bluenden Tal*, composed about 1220, the author ("Der Pleier") admits his indebtedness to *Iwein*, but gives a version of the abduction differing both from that and the other romances referred to above. The abduction takes place while Arthur is holding a spring festival in a flowery meadow. The King promises his wish to everyone, whereupon a stranger (Meliakanze) arrives and asks for the Queen. The King grants the request, but only on condition that the stranger win her by combat. The Arthurian contestants are overthrown, and Meliakanze carries off the Queen. She is finally rescued by Lancelot. See M. Walz's ed., Freiburg, 1892, vss. 1 ff.

On the possible value of *Iwein* and *Gârel* as evidence regarding the story of Guinevere's abduction see below, p. 50.

² Ed. by E. Stengel for the *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* (1873), vss. 4187 ff.

³ It should be observed that the abduction here takes place in the vicinity of Glastonbury. Ider figures as the hero of an adventure recounted in William of

7. The abduction of Guenevere also appears in *Diu Crône*,¹ a prolix Middle-High-German romance based on various sources, some of them French, and composed by Heinrich von dem Turlin, probably during the first quarter of the thirteenth century (ca. 1220?). The author gives two variants of the abduction story—one much like that in the *Charrete*,² the other differing so widely from it as to require special attention.

One cold winter day while Arthur [Artus], just returned from the hunt, is hugging the fire, Ginover begins to taunt him by saying that she knows a knight who rides all night clad only in his shirt and singing love songs. Arthur's jealousy is immediately aroused, and, on learning from the Queen that the hot-blooded knight haunts the ford of the *Noirespine*, sets out with Kay and two other companions to conquer him. At or near the ford the knights of the Round Table encounter the stranger, who gets the best of Arthur's companions but is hard pressed by the King. Arthur now learns that his opponent is named Gasozein de Dragoz. After exacting from the King a promise of just treatment, Gasozein goes on: "You have had in your house for more than seven years my captive, taken by you against my will. . . . She is Ginover the Queen, whose proper lover [*âmts*] I have always been. She was promised to me by the witches [*Nahtweiden*] when she was first born" [p. 60]. In proof of his claim he displays a magic girdle, which had been presented to the Queen by Gawain. He adds: "I am her real husband and you are

Malmesbury's work *De antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae* (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, CLXXIX, col. 1701). During a Christmas celebration at Karliun, Arthur adorns with military insignia a valiant youth, Ider, son of King Nuth. In order to prove his fitness for the honor, Ider attacks and slays three giants, but swoons as the result of his exertions. Arthur, thinking Ider dead, establishes an endowment at Glastonbury for twenty-four monks to pray for the youth's soul. Later in the *De antiquitate* (Migne, col. 1723) Arthur is mentioned at the head of a list of benefactors of Glastonbury Abbey. Though the Ider episode has been regarded as an interpolation (Paris, *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 199; cf. Lot, *Rom.*, XXVII, 568), it is none the less instructive as suggesting the setting for the abduction in *Durmart*. On the Yder story see also Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 f., and Faral, *Lég. arth.*, p. 452. See further above, p. 23.

¹ Ed. by G. H. F. Scholl, *Diu Crône*, in *Bibl. des litt. Ver. in Stuttgart*, XXVII (1852), 41 ff.

² He adds, however, that the Queen was carried off against her will, that Lancelot on his journey to free her encountered thickets and briars, that he mounted the cart merely because he was weary, and that the abductor (here called Melianz) was defeated at the border of his land.

wrongly with her. She loved me in the first hour that she began to speak, and I possessed her from the cradle up. She would rather be a year with me than a day with you.¹ Nevertheless I am willing, if you will bring her hither to-day, to stake her on a single combat in order to end this miserable strife. Then even if I win her, I will not touch her for a year; but waiving my right, fight for her again at the end of that time against any of your knights." The two rivals finally agree to decide the matter by a combat at Karidol six weeks thence. Gasozein now departs. Arthur doubts whether Ginover is innocent or guilty. Gathering together his defeated companions, he returns to Tintaguel.

At the appointed time he makes elaborate preparations for the coming conflict. Ginover, when she learns of Arthur's intentions, says, "Christ protect my wifely honor."

Meanwhile Ginover's brother, Gotegrin, son of King Garlin of Galore, is informed that if it had not been for fear and shame, his sister would have gone with Gasozein. Filled with rage at this report, he rushes to the palace, seizes the Queen and carries her off to the forest. "Help God!" cries the unhappy Queen; "I perish for nothing but a jesting word against the king." Just as Gotegrin is about to take her life, Gasozein suddenly appears, overthrows the brother, and, in spite of Ginover's protests, bears her off toward his castle. On the way, however, he is met by Gawain. The two have a prodigious battle, the upshot of which is that the two contestants, grievously wounded, return to Karidol with the Queen. Here Gasozein is cared for during the space of a year, at the end of which time he admits that his claim to Ginover is false and the Queen herself innocent. He is forgiven and remains at court.

¹ In the fragmentary English ballad-romance of *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, contained in the Percy Folio MS (Child, *Ballads*, No. 30), Arthur and several companions put up at the castle of the magician King Cornwall. The host tells Arthur:

" . . . 'Seven yeere I was clad and fed,
In Litle Brittain, in a bower;
I had a daughter by King Arthur's wife,
That now is called my flower;
For King Arthur, that kindly cockward,
Hath none such in his bower' " (Stanza 24).

After certain uncanny experiences, Arthur slays Cornwall. On the relation of the ballad to other documents dealing with the character of Guenevere see especially Webster, *Englische Studien*, XXVI [1906], 337 ff. A fuller discussion of the whole matter is to be found in Webster's dissertation, *Lancelot and Guinevere, a Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance* (1902), which, unfortunately, still lies unpublished in the Harvard University Library.

8. The Arthurian romances in prose contain numerous abduction stories. Most of these merely repeat the account given in the *Charrete* or otherwise serve only to illustrate the popularity of the abduction theme in medieval romance.¹

According to the prose *Lancelot*, for example, Guenevere, while hunting in the forest of Camelot under the protection of Lancelot, Kay, and two other knights, is attacked by a stranger who attempts to abduct her. The would-be abductor is, however, overcome, and the adventure leads to nothing.²

A striking prose version of the abduction theme turns up just at the close of the Middle Ages in Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur*,³ which was completed in 1469-70.⁴

One May morning Guenevere, attended by various knights and ladies "clothed in green," is riding in the woods and meadows near Westminster, when she is suddenly seized by Meliagrance, son of King Bagdemagus, who has long loved her and sought to steal her away but has refrained for fear of Sir Lancelot. The Queen is carried off to Meliagrance's castle "within seven mile of Westminster," but not until she contrives to send a secret message informing Lancelot, who is absent, of her plight. The abductor, even after getting the Queen safely inside his stronghold, "durst make no masteries, for dread of Sir Lancelot." Lancelot, on being informed of the Queen's abduction, follows at once. On the road his horse is badly wounded by Meliagrance's archers, and the rider, tired out by the weight of his armor, mounts a woodman's cart and so arrives at his destination.

The remainder of Malory's account does not concern us.

¹ Cf. H. O. Sommer, *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington, D.C.), IV (1911), 161, 192; VII (1913), 65 ff.

² Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, IV, 301 ff. According to the English *Merlin*, Guenevere was ambushed in a garden and an attempt made to abduct her, but she grasped an "impe tree" so firmly that her hold could not be loosened (*Merlin*, ed. Wheatley-Mead [EETS, London, 1899], II, 462 ff.; cf. Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, II, 308 f.). See further the episode of the false Guenevere; cf. Bruce, *Rom. Rev.*, X (1919), 51 f. Cf. Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, IV, 10 ff.

³ Book XIX, chaps. i f.

⁴ On the date see Kittredge, [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes*, V (1897), 85 ff.; *Sir Thomas Malory*, Barnstable (privately printed, 1925), p. 3; Ed. Hicks, *Sir Thomas Malory* (Harvard University Press, 1928), p. 85; Eugène Vinaver, *Malory* (Oxford, 1929), p. 148.

Two other medieval abduction stories, though not connected with Guenevere, are important in the present connection.

1. The first is an episode in the Tristan legend. It is preserved in the version of Thomas and in the prose *Tristan*, and, as the late Gertrude Schoepperle has shown,¹ belongs to one of the oldest strata of the *Tristan estoire*.

A magnificently apparelled stranger comes to Cornwall from Ireland and, on landing, enters the court of King Mark, where the former Irish princess Isolt now reigns as Queen. He is recognized at once by Isolt, for he has long loved her. The Queen tells Mark the stranger's lineage, and urges the King to do him honor, whereupon Mark invites him to eat out of the royal platter. The stranger is disguised as a minstrel,² but when urged to play, refuses except for a reward. Mark accordingly promises him whatever he wishes. The stranger plays twice and then demands Isolt. When the King refuses to part with his wife, the harper declares that a liar is unworthy to be king, and asserts that he is prepared to maintain his right by single combat. No one dares oppose him, whereupon he carries the Queen to his ship. Tristan, who now returns from hunting, learns of the abduction and hastens to the shore, where he finds the stranger vainly attempting to comfort the sorrowing Isolt. Tristan is offered certain valuable garments if he can assuage her grief with music (for Tristan is a famous harper). While he plays, the abductor forgets that, as a result of the rising tide, the gangplank leading to the ship is covered with water. When Tristan, on the pretext of carrying the Queen to the vessel, has her safely on horseback, he rides off, thus rescuing her from the would-be abductor.

2. An especially instructive form of the abduction theme turns up in the Middle English narrative poem of *Sir Orfeo*, which dates probably from the end of the thirteenth century. *Sir Orfeo* claims to be a "Breton lay," and, as Kittredge has demonstrated,³ is really the classical account of the abduction of Eurydice combined with features bor-

¹ *Tristan and Isolt*, II (1913), 420 ff.

² On this feature see Max Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands* (Cöthen, 1906), pp. 79 ff.

³ *American Journal of Philology*, VII (1886), 176 ff. Cf. Child, *Ballads*, No. 19; Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, pp. 184 ff.

rowed from Celtic tradition. The part of the story pertinent to the present discussion may be summarized¹ as follows:

While Queen Erodys lies, apparently asleep, under an "ympe-tre" in her garden, she is approached by two knights who summon her to their king. She refuses to accompany them, whereupon the King himself appears, followed by a suite of attendants clad in white and riding white horses, and transports her to a magnificent palace situated in a land of supernatural beauty. The abductor then carries her back to the garden, but only for the purpose of allowing her to say farewell to her friends, for he will return on the morrow and take her away to live with him forever. He threatens her with dire punishment if she fails to accompany him willingly. When Erodys' husband, King Orfeo, learns of the Queen's experience, he determines to prevent the abduction. Accordingly next day he places a strong guard around the tree under which she lies. His precautions are, however, fruitless. At the appointed time Erodys is mysteriously snatched away by *fayré*, no one knows whither. The sorrowing husband now takes his harp, and, wandering forth into the forest, seeks his lost wife. The search lasts "ten yere and more," until at length Orfeo recognizes her riding in the train of the "kyng of Fayré." He follows the fairy cavalcade through a cave and enters a lovely country, where he comes upon a castle richly adorned with gold and jewels. Once inside, he sees his wife surrounded by many other mortals. Orfeo now harps so entrancingly that the King promises to reward him with whatever he may ask. The harper demands Erodys. At first the abductor refuses, but on being reminded by Orfeo that it would be dishonorable to break his promise, he reluctantly consents. King Orfeo now returns with his wife to mortal soil.

Before proceeding further, we may draw attention to certain motifs occurring in one or more of the documents summarized above:

1. The heroine is a wife carried off by a "marvelous" being.
2. (a) The abductor accomplishes his purpose by inducing the husband to grant an unspecified boon, and upon the latter's pledging himself to accede to the request, demands the lady. The husband, though unwilling, is compelled to keep his promise. (b) The abductor in addition to acquiring a right to the lady by means of the rash promise, offers to win her by combat. (c) The abductor snatches away the lady without ceremony.

¹ The summary is based on the edition of Joseph Ritson, *Ancient English Metrical Romances* (London, 1802), II, 248 ff.

3. The abductor does not consummate his union with the heroine at once.

4. He is pursued by (a) the husband alone, (b) the husband in company with a band of followers, (c) one of the husband's retainers who is the lady's lover.

5. He resides in a supernatural realm, which is reached only after certain difficulties are surmounted.

6. The rescuer finally succeeds in recovering the lady (a) by the help of a "wise man," (b) by a ruse.

7. The lady (a) has already had relations with the abductor, (b) is the innocent victim of a brutal marauder.

§ 2

The abduction of a wife (or mistress) by a lover, human or supernatural, has long been a favorite theme in mythology and literature. Though various well-recognized forms of the abduction motif were probably accessible to Chrétien at the time he composed the *Charrete*,¹ the investigator of Arthurian romance turns at once to Celtic as the most promising of the possible sources.

Tales of the abduction or elopement of women were popular among the early Celts of Great Britain and Ireland.² Examples are not lacking, even among the scanty remains of ancient Welsh epic and romantic literature,³ but it is in Ireland, whose literary and other contacts with early Britain and the Continent were long continued and frequent, that we find the most abundant evidence.⁴

In a country such as ancient Ireland, where tribal raids were fre-

¹ See the material assembled by Richard Heinzel, *Waltersage* (Vienna, 1888), pp. 66 ff.; Max Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands* (Cöthen, 1906), pp. 62 ff.; Foerster, *Karrenritter*, Introd., pp. lxvii ff.; Gaston Paris, *Rom.* XII (1883), 515 ff.

² Cf. Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage* (Halle, 1921), p. 429; Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt* (Frankfurt and London, 1913), II, 393 f.

³ See below, pp. 33 ff.

⁴ See now especially C. H. Slover, University of Texas *Studies in English*, No. 6 (1926) and No. 7 (1927).

quently made for the purpose of stealing women or other valuables,¹ it is not surprising that both epic² and romantic accounts of wives abducted willingly or by force formed an important part of the stock-in-trade of professional literary men.³

Two lists of early Irish tales have come down to us. One of these (known as List A),⁴ found in the Book of Leinster (*ca.* 1150), enumerates twelve stories called *aitheda*, 'elopements.'⁵ Seven of these titles are repeated in a second list (B),⁶ and, as Thurneysen has pointed out,⁷ probably go back as far as the tenth century.⁸ At least half of the *aitheda* appear to be lost. Elopements are also referred to or described fully in narratives bearing such titles as *Tochmarc* ('Wooing'), *Longes*

¹ Cf. Windisch, *Irische Texte, Extraband*, Introd., pp. 26 ff.; "Das keltische Brittannien," *Abhandln. der Königl. Sächs. Gesell. der Wissn.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., XXIX (1912), 144.

² A typical case in which realistic, as opposed to romantic, features predominate, is furnished by the *Táin Bó Flidais*, a saga existing in several versions, the oldest of which was composed before the twelfth century on the basis of a few suggestions in the still older epic of the *Táin Bó Cualnge* (cf. Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, pp. 317 f.). Flidais, the wife of a Connacht kinglet named Ailill Finn, loves the Ulster exile Fergus mac Roich without having seen him. Fergus, on being informed of the fact, visits Ailill's *dun*, and after a series of encounters slays the husband and carries off the woman in addition to cattle and other booty. See Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, II, Heft II, 206 ff.; Thurneysen, "Zu irischen Handschriften u. Litteraturdenkmälern," *Abhandln. der Königl. Gesell. der Wissen. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Neue Folge, XIV, No. 2 (1912), 95 ff.; A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, II (1906), 101 ff.; *Revue celtique*, XVI (1895), 154; *Celtic Review*, I (1904-5), 203 ff. See further *Silva Gadelica*, II (1892), 4 f.

³ Cf. Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage* (Halle, 1921), p. 429; Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolde*, II (1913), 393 f.

⁴ See Eugene O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin, 1861), pp. 584 ff.; Brian O'Looney, *Proc. Royal Ir. Acad.* (2d ser., 1879), I, 216 ff.

⁵ The translation 'abduction,' sometimes used for the Irish word *aithed*, is inexact.

⁶ See D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Essai d'un Catalogue* (Paris, 1883), pp. 259 ff.; Kuno Meyer, *Anecdota from Ir. MSS* (Halle and Dublin, 1908), II, 42 ff.

⁷ *Irische Helden- und Königsage*, p. 24.

⁸ For references to other abduction stories see *Irish Texts Society*, VII (1904), 84, 197 f.

(‘Exile’), *Echtra* (‘Adventures in Fairyland’), *Táin* (‘Cattle-Raid’), or *Tóruigheacht* (‘Pursuit’).

1. Love affairs between supernatural personages and mortal women have long been a favorite motif of Celtic traditional literature.¹ A striking and oft-cited instance is the fragmentary romantic tale known as the *Tochmarc Étaíne*,² the oldest parts of which, though revised sometime during the eleventh century, were originally written down some two hundred years earlier.³ The story as reconstructed from the fragments runs as follows:

¹ See *Rev. cell.*, XXXI (1910), 430 ff. Cf. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* (London, 1888), pp. 232 ff.

² See Windisch, *Irische Texte* (Leipzig, 1880), I, 119 ff.; Müller, *Rev. cell.*, III (1876-78), 350 ff.; A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland* (London, 1906), II, 151 ff. See also Leahy, *op. cit.*, I (1905), 1 ff., 163 ff.; O’Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, II (1873), 192 ff.; III, 162 f., 188 ff.; Zimmer, *Ztschr. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII (1889), 278 f.; *Ztschr. f. vergl. Sprachforsch. u. Litt.*, XXVIII (1887), 585 ff.; Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures* (London and Edinburgh, 1888), pp. 144 ff.; *Arthurian Legend*, chap. ii; D’Arbois de Jubainville, *Le Cycle mythologique irlandais* (Paris, 1884), pp. 313 ff.; Nettlau, *Rev. cell.*, XII (1891), 229 ff.; Stokes, *ibid.*, XXII (1902), 11 ff.; Nutt, *ibid.*, XXVII (1906), 325 ff.; Stern, *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, V (1904), 522 ff.; Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- u. Königsage*, pp. 598 ff., 657.

³ See Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, p. 598; Strachan, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1891-94 (London, 1894), pp. 501, 551 f.; *ibid.*, 1895-98 (London, 1898), pp. 79, 90. Though mentioned in only one manuscript of List B (D’Arbois, *Catalogue*, p. 262; *Anecdota*, II, 45), the *Tochmarc Étaíne* is referred to in both saga-lists as one of the tales with which every Irish man of letters was expected to be acquainted during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Étain’s beauty was a proverbial standard of comparison, and before the twelfth century, the *Tochmarc Étaíne* was so well known as to be made the subject of a jocose reference in the *Aislinge Meic Conglinne* (ed. Kuno Meyer, 1892, p. 152; cf. Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII [1903], 196, n. 1). The oldest manuscript is the Book of the Dun Cow (R.I.A.), which was transcribed from earlier sources during the late eleventh or early twelfth century. This codex contains three loosely connected narratives, of which only one is complete but all bear the title *Tochmarc Étaíne*. Other important manuscripts containing parts of the *Tochmarc Étaíne* are: the Yellow Book of Lecan (YBL) (T.C.D.), late fourteenth century; Egerton 1782 (B.M.), fifteenth century; and H. 2. 18 (T.C.D.), sixteenth century. Episodes in the story are referred to or given in variant form in the *Dinnshenchas*, on which see below, p. 37, n. 2.

The fairy woman Etain is the wife (or mistress) of an Otherworld personage (Midir or Oengus mac Oc)¹ and dwells in fairyland. She is separated from her supernatural spouse and, after being reborn, is chosen as the wife of Eochaid Feidlech (or Aiream), high-king of Ireland.

While passing by the elfmound of Bri Leith, King Eochaid sees a woman beside a fountain and immediately falls in love with her. After an elaborate description of her beauty, the narrative proceeds thus:² "The king asked tidings of her and said: 'Shall I have an hour of dalliance with thee?' 'Tis for that we have come hither under thy safeguard,' quoth she. 'Query, whence art thou and whence hast thou come?' says Eochaid. 'Easy to say,' quoth she. 'Etain am I, daughter of Etar, *ri eochraidi* [king of the cavalcade?] from the elfmound. I have been here for twenty years since I was born in an elfmound. The men of the elfmound, both kings and nobles, have been wooing me; but nought was got from me, because ever since I was able to speak, I have loved thee and given thee a child's love for the high tales about thee and for thy splendor. And though I had never seen thee, I knew thee at once from thy description. . . . 'No "seeking of an ill friend afar" shall be thine,' says Eochaid. 'Thou shalt have welcome, and for thee every [other] woman shall be left [by me], and with thee alone will I live as long as thou hast honor.' " Eochaid now gives Etain her "bride-price," and takes her home to Tara as his queen.

Some time [a year?] later Midir appears to Etain and attempts to lure her away, but "he obtained her not. And the name which he gave to Etain was Béfind, or Fair-haired [White] Woman." He then tried to induce the Queen to accompany him by singing a song of seven stanzas describing the pleasures of fairyland, and beginning: "O Befind, wilt thou go with me?"³ Etain replied: "If thou obtainest me from him, I will go; but if thou art not able to obtain me from him, I will not go."

Midir now visits Eochaid in disguise and proposes to play chess with him.

¹ Cf. *Rev. celt.*, XXVII (1906), 338.

² The translation is based on the version of the episode given in the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga* (*Rev. celt.*, XXII [1901], 13 ff.), which furnishes an older text than that printed by Windisch (*Ir. Text.*, I, 119f., from MS Egerton 1782 [B.M.]; cf. Thurneysen, *Heldensage*, p. 661). See also Lucius Gwynn, *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, IX (1913), 353 ff.

³ For translations see O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, II, 192 (cf. III, 191); Stern, *Zeitschr. f. celt. Philol.*, V, 532 f.; Leahy, *Heroic Romances*, I, 27, II, 143.

Several times¹ he allows the king to win and as a result performs certain difficult tasks imposed upon him by Eochaid. Finally, however, Midir wins and demands as a forfeit the right to embrace Etain [*dí láim im Étain agus póc di*]. Eochaid claims a month's respite, and in the mean time takes every precaution to avoid the necessity of fulfilling his promise. In spite of all his efforts Midir, magnificently attired, appears suddenly among the King's guards in the midst of the great hall at Tara. "And the king gave a welcome to him. 'Thy reception is such as I expected when I came,' said Midir; 'let that now be given that has been promised.' 'Tis a debt that is due when a promise has been made: and I for my part have given to thee all that was promised by me. . . . Thou hast promised Etain's very self to me,' said Midir; 'that is what came from thee.' Etain blushed for shame when she heard that word. 'Blush not,' said Midir to Etain, 'for in no wise has thy wedding-feast been disgraced. I have been seeking thee for a year with the fairest jewels and treasures that can be found in Ireland, and I have not taken thee until the time came when Eochaid might permit it. 'Tis not through any will of thine that I have won thee.' 'I myself told thee,' said Etain, 'that until Eochaid should resign me to thee, I would grant thee nothing. Take me then for my part, if Eochaid is willing to resign me to thee.' 'But I will not resign thee!' said Eochaid; 'nevertheless he shall take thee in his arms upon the floor of this house as thou art.' " Midir immediately steps up to the Queen, and placing his arm around her, disappears with her through the smoke-hole in the roof. Eochaid and his warriors "saw two swans circling around Tara, and the way that they took was the way to the elfmound of Femun." Eochaid's subjects now determine to destroy the fairy-mounds of Ireland one after another until the king's wife is found. Here this section of the story breaks off.

According to another version which, though recorded fully only in later manuscripts, is supported by pre-twelfth-century evidence,² Midir appears in disguise at a fair and carries off Etain and her maid to the fairy-mound of Bri Leith. After a year's search Eochaid discovers his wife's whereabouts

¹ Probably twice, but the account is fragmentary at this point. Cf. *Rev. celt.*, XII (1891), 233.

² See Lucius Gwynn, *Zt. f. celt. Philol.*, IX (1913), 353 ff. The story is referred to in the metrical *Dinnshenchas* (Edward Gwynn, *Royal Irish Academy*, "Todd Lecture Series," X [1913], 351), which is certainly older than the twelfth century. (See below, p. 37, n. 2.) Cf. Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, p. 616. For the text see Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, I, 128 ff.

through the magic powers of Dalan, his druid.¹ He now attacks Midir's fairy-mound and, after several years of siege, destroys it and recovers his wife.²

In another episode, not a part of the abduction story, Midir appears in disguise to Etain just in time to save her from keeping a tryst with her husband's brother, who has become infatuated with her. "It were more fitting for thee to come to tryst with me," says the disguised Midir, "for when thou wast Etain Echraide [perhaps a corruption], daughter of Ailill [her father in her earliest fairy existence], I myself was thy husband [*in tan rop-sa Étain Echraide ingen Aililla ropud messi do chetmuintir*]." "Query, what is thy name?" asks Etain. "Not hard to say," he replies; "Midir of Bri Leith is my name." "What parted you from me if we were thus?" asks the Queen. Midir

¹ In the section of the *Dinnshenchas* designed to explain the name of a place called Snam Da Én (see below, p. 37, n. 2), a husband whose wife has a supernatural love affair discovers the existence of the fairy lover by the help of his druid(s). See Cross, *Rev. celt.*, XXXI (1910), 444 f.; Marstrander, *Ériu*, V (1911), 219 ff., 248 f.; Gwynn, "Todd Lec. Ser.," XI, Part IV (1924), 350 ff. Cf. Stern, *Rev. celt.*, XIII (1892), 10 f. nn.; Stokes, *ibid.*, XVI (1895), 56 f.; Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, p. 39. In the *Táin Bó Fraich*, one of the most archaic of the longer sagas, the hero, whose wife and cattle have been carried off to the Other-world, pursues them in company with the Ulster hero Conall Cernach. He finds them in a stronghold guarded by a serpent (*nathir*), but succeeds in rescuing them by the help of a mysterious woman attached to the establishment. See J. O'Beirne Crowe, *R.I.A.*, "Ir. MSS Series," I, Part I (1870), 134 ff.; A. O. Anderson, *Rev. celt.*, XXIV (1903), 140 ff.; Kuno Meyer, *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, IV (1903), 32 ff.; A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances*, II (1906), 1 ff.

² Certain variants of the Etain story are contained in the *Dinnshenchas*, a collection of ancient Irish topographical legends preserved in at least three redactions and composed partly in prose, partly in verse. The versified portions were written at various times between the ninth and the eleventh centuries (cf. Meyer, *Festschrift*, Whitley Stokes [Leipzig, 1900], p. 1, n. 1; Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, pp. 36 ff.). The prose is several centuries later in composition, but "the documents as they stand are a storehouse of ancient Irish folk-lore" showing little or no evidence of foreign influence (cf. Stokes, *Folk-Lore*, III [1892], 468). According to the metrical *Dinnshenchas*, Etain was carried off by Sigmall, the grandson of Midir, to "the fairy-mound of Nento beyond the water," *Sid Nento iar n-uscú* (Gwynn, "Todd Lec. Ser.," VII [1900], 8). According to another tradition preserved in the *Dinnshenchas*, Esa, the daughter of Eochaid and Etain, was abducted to the fairy-mound of Bri Leith, where her mother was, and kept there for nine years. Eochaid discovered her whereabouts by the help of Codal of the "withered breast" or "withered foot" (obviously a person of supernatural knowledge). He then summoned his army and set about attacking the fairy-mound. According to the prose (*Rev. celt.*, XV [1894], 291), the siege lasted nine years. In

then reminds her of the specific circumstances that caused their separation and begs her to elope with him, but Etain claims to know nothing of him and refuses to abandon Eochaid.¹

2. The abduction theme also became associated with Cu Chulinn, the Achilles of the Ulster epic, in a number of texts which represent the Ulster hero as opposed to Cu Roi mac Daire, a half-demonic personage² whose stronghold is located by tradition in the county

order to deceive the king, Midir transformed fifty (or sixty) (*ibid.*, XII [1891], 235; XV [1894], 291) of his warriors into women resembling Esa, but Eochaid succeeded in picking out his daughter and thus rescued her. Later he forced Midir to give up the mother, and required of him certain difficult tasks as a fine for the abduction. In this account Esa is apparently confused with her mother, Etain (cf. Gwynn, "Todd Lecture Series," IX, Part II, p. 89, n. 5; *Rev. cell.*, XII, 235.) In the fifteenth-century Egerton manuscript of the *Tochmarc Étdáine* mother and daughter are both called Etain (*Etdáin ingen Echdach Airimon: Ir. Text.*, I, 130, l. 15). See also Gwynn, "Todd Lec. Ser.," VII (1900), 2 ff.; IX, Part II (1906), 2 ff.

The *Dinnshenchas* also contains an account of the abduction of the maiden Tuag by a supernatural lover (cf. Gwynn, *op. cit.*, XI, Part IV [1924], 58 ff.; Stokes, *Folk Lore*, III [1892], 510 f.; *Rev. cell.*, XVI [1895], 151 f.). According to another section of the *Dinnshenchas*, the princess Clidna lost her life while fleeing with a supernatural abductor (cf. Gwynn, "Todd Lec. Ser.," X [1913], 206 ff.; *Rev. cell.*, XV [1894], 437 f.; *Folk Lore*, III, 478 f.; O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* [London and Edinburgh, 1892], II, 481 [xxx], 528 [xxxi]). In the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century *Agallamh na Senórach*, where the story of Clidna's death is told, the lady is a fairy being and her lover mortal (cf. Stokes, *Ir. Texte*, IV, Heft I (1900), 108, ll. 3811 ff.; O'Grady, *op. cit.*, I, 177 ff.; II, 198 ff.). For other elopement stories in early Irish see *Folk Lore*, III, 471; *Rev. cell.*, XVI, 79; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 265.

¹ The fairy wife who abandons her mortal husband for a mysterious stranger appears in the *Tochmarc Becfola*, a patchwork of traditional motives found in no manuscript earlier than the fourteenth century. See Bryan O'Looney, *R.I.A.*, "Irish MSS Series," I, Part I (1870), 175 ff.; O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, I, 85 ff.; II, 91 ff. In the *Tochmarc Treblainne*, which is hardly older than the thirteenth century, Treblann (a maiden of fairy origin) escapes from her foster-father and elopes with a fairy lover. See Kuno Meyer, *Zeitschr. f. Celt. Philol.*, XIII, 166 ff.; Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, pp. 296 ff. In the *Echtra Loegaire*, composed before the middle of the twelfth century, a fairy wife is abducted by a supernatural lover. She is recovered by a mortal, whose help is sought by the aggrieved husband (*Modern Philology*, XIII [1915-16], 731 ff.; O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, I, 256 f.; II, 290 f.).

² See Thurneysen, *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, IX, 189 ff., 335; X, 423 f.; Baudiš, *Ériu*, VII, 200 ff.; Brown, *Philolog. Quart.*, II (1923), 240.

Kerry. The story is told in the *Aided Con Roi* ('Tragic Death of Cu Roi'),¹ one of a group of five saga texts, the oldest of which, summarized below from the sixteenth-century manuscript Egerton 88 (B.M.),² goes back at least as far as the first half of the eighth century.³

Echde Echbel [Horse-Mouth] from Aird Echdi, on the Mull of Cantire in Scotland, visits Emain Macha [the capital of ancient Ulster], woos Blathine [Flowerlet],⁴ the daughter of King Conchobar, and with her consent carries her off. She, however, loves Cu Roi mac Daire.⁵ Cu Roi alone knows who the abductor is. Among Echde's treasures are three marvelous milch-cows. The Ulstermen, leaving Cu Chulinn behind, sail across to Echde's *dun* and attempt to carry off the cattle, but are defeated. When Cu Chulinn later undertakes the exploit,⁶ Cu Roi, disguised as a boorish young man, accompanies him in

¹ Ed. by Best, *Ériu*, II (1905), 32 ff.; trans. by Thurneysen, *Ztsch. f. celt. Philol.*, IX (1913), 189 ff. (cf. 336). For other versions and for discussions see *Silva Gadelica*, I (1892), 482 f.; II (1892), 530 f.; Keating, *History of Ireland* (Ir. Texts Soc. [London, 1905], VIII, 220 ff.), II. 3439 ff.; *Rev. celt.*, VI (1883-85), 187 f.; XV (1894), 449; XXIII (1902), 306, 319, 324; *Ériu*, II (1905), 1 ff., 21 ff.; *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, III (1900), 37 ff.; X (1914), 423 f.; Rhŷs, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 188, 473 ff.; Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, pp. 431 ff.

² Other versions, more or less influenced by alien motifs (see above, p. 39, n. 1.), occur in the Yellow Book of Lecan (fourteenth century), MS H.3.18, T.C.D. (composed of texts of various dates), and other manuscripts; in the *Dinnshenchas*; and in Keating's *History* (see below, pp. 39, n. 4, 40, n. 1.).

³ Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, p. 431; Pokorny, *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, XIII (1921), 119 f.

⁴ In certain other ancient as well as in more modern versions the woman is called Blathnat (another diminutive of *Bláth*, 'Flower'), and is said to be the daughter of Iuchna, or of an unidentified Poll (Puill?) mac Fidaig, or of Menn (Mend), king of the island (or islands) of the men of Falga. The scribe of the Book of Leinster (ca. 1150) identifies *Falga* with the Hebrides, and later versions of the death of Cu Roi regard Blathnat's father as the king of the Isle of Man. Cf. Thurneysen, *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, IX, 201 f., 221; *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, pp. 436 f. See also *Fled Bricrenn*, *Ir. Texte*, I, 294, 299 f. (cf. *Ir. Texts Soc.*, II [1899], 195).

⁵ Cf. the *Dinnshenchas* account of the elopement of Ailech, a Scottish princess, with an abductor who carries her to Ireland. Two poems on the subject are edited by Gwynn, *R.I.A.*, "Todd Lec. Ser.," VII (1900), 38 ff.; a third by O'Donovan, *Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry* (Dublin, 1837), I, 226 f.; Prose edited by Stokes, *Rev. celt.*, XVI (1895), 41 f. See also Donald Mackinnon, *Descriptive Cat. of Gaelic MSS* (Edinburgh, 1912), p. 136.

⁶ Cf. the lost *Aithed Mugaíne re Fiamain*, in which, as Thurneysen points out, a story essentially the same as the following was told: "Conchobors Frau Mugain

the ship. On their arrival in Scotland, Cu Chulinn and his company are entertained [at Echde's *dun*] for three nights. While Echde is asleep, they escape with the maiden, the cows, and many other treasures.¹ They are pursued by Echde, but he is slain by the boorish young man, to whom the girl and the booty have been promised as a reward. At the request of the Ulstermen, Cu Roi leaves with them the maiden and the cattle for three years, at the expiration of which time he returns and carries them off by force.² Cu Chulinn, who pursues the abductor, is insulted by him. Cu Roi transports girl and booty to his stronghold of Cathair Con Roi [today Caher Conree, in Kerry]. Later the Ulstermen learn accidentally that the young man was Cu Roi in disguise, and Cu Chulinn, seven years after the abduction, visits Cu Roi's *dun*³ and learns from Blathine how to kill her husband, whose soul resides in an apple [or ball] in the body of a certain salmon. After seven more years the salmon is caught by Blathine, and while the Ulstermen attack Cu Roi's *dun*, it is killed and the apple split [by Cu Chulinn?]. Cu Roi now becomes weak and is slain by

[Aitencaithrech] wird . . . von Fiamain mac Foroi entführt, und dieser wird dann in seiner Burg Dún Binni—vermutlich von CuChulainn—erschlagen und die Frau zurückgewonnen" (*Heldensage*, p. 447).

¹ In later versions the events take place in the Isle of Man (see p. 39, n. 4.), and, according to the seventeenth-century antiquarian and historian Keating, Cu Roi helps not only by fighting but by stopping a wheel that revolves in front of the gate of the *dun* containing the woman and the treasures. The revolving wheel, derived ultimately from folk lore, may, as Thurneysen suggests (*Heldensage*, p. 443, n. 5), be borrowed here from the *Fled Bricrenn*, where Cu Roi is said to have possessed a whirling fortress.

² According to Keating (see above, p. 39, n. 1), the disguised Cu Roi consents to help the Ulstermen on condition that "he got his choice of the valuables in the *dun*"; at the division of the spoil he chooses Blanaid (the woman), and, on being refused by Cu Chulinn, carries her off in an enchanted cloak (*Ir. Texts Soc.*, VIII [1905], 222 f.).

³ According to later versions Cu Chulinn waits only a year (in order to recover from the effects of Cu Roi's insult), and is then led by a flock of birds, arriving thus at Cu Roi's *dun*. In following the birds he first reaches Srub Brain, which is really in the west of Ireland, whereas the redactor apparently supposes it to be in the vicinity of Cathair Con Roi (Caher Conree), which is actually in the south. The motif of the bird-hunt is probably borrowed from the older explanation of Srub Brain in the *Dinnshenchas* (Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, pp. 440, 492), and occurs first in a twelfth-century version of the *Aided Con Roi* (Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 440). For the text see *Ériu*, II, 23; *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, IX, 217.

Cu Chulinn, who carries off the woman.¹ In revenge for her perfidy Blathine meets her death at the hands of Cu Roi's poet Ferchertne.²

3. A somewhat less complicated abduction story is told in the *Compert Mongáin ocus Serc Duibe-Lacha do Mongán* ("The Birth of Mongan and the Love of Dubh-Lacha to Mongan"),³ one of several early Irish accounts⁴ connected with the semi-supernatural king Mongan. The narrative runs as follows:

Mongan, the son of a mortal mother and a supernatural father, is king of Ulster and is wedded to the beautiful Dubh-Lacha [Black-Duck] White Hand, daughter of a neighboring prince. While on a circuit collecting gifts from the provincial kings of Ireland, he chances to see certain fine cattle belonging to Brandubh mac Echach, king of Leinster. "'By my word,' said Mongan, 'save the kingdom of Ulster, I never saw anything I would rather have than them.' 'By my word,' said the king of Leinster, 'they are a match for Dubh-Lacha, for she is the one woman that is most beautiful in Ireland, and those kine are

¹ In certain later versions the attack takes place on Samhain (Hallowe'en) and Blathnat (=Blathine) gives the signal for the onslaught by pouring the milk of the marvelous cows into a stream that flows through Cu Roi's *dun* (*Rev. celt.*, XV, 448; *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, IX, 201; Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, p. 442). In the tenth-century *Brinna Ferchertne*, Blathnat renders Cu Roi powerless by tying his hair to the bedposts (Meyer, *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, III, 42; Thurneysen, *ibid.*, IX, 205).

² It is important to observe that the Cu Roi story was known in early Welsh literature. The version of Cu Roi's death given in the *Dinnshenchas* was made the subject of a Welsh elegy (*marwnad*) composed as early as the ninth century (Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I [1868], 254; II [1868], 198; Rhys, *Ir. Texts Soc.*, II [1899], 192 f.; Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I (1913), 41, 261). As Meyer points out, "The Welsh poem can hardly be understood by anyone not perfectly acquainted with all the incidents of the story" (*Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion*, 1895-96 [London, 1897], pp. 71 f.). See also Vendryès, *Rev. celt.*, XLI (1924), 489.

³ Ed. and trans., Kuno Meyer, *Voyage of Bran* (London, 1895), I, 58 ff. For a transcript of a late manuscript by Seamus O'Duilearga, see *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, XVII (1928), 352 ff.

⁴ Although the tale is preserved in no manuscript earlier than the fifteenth century, evidence derived from other accounts of Mongan antedating the twelfth century indicates that the story was in existence before it was recorded (cf. Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II [1897], 11, 13, 26). The appearance of the *Serc Duibe-Lacha* in both lists of heroic tales (see p. 33) implies that some form of the story existed in writing as early as the tenth century.

the most beautiful cattle in Ireland, and on no condition in the world would I give them except our making friendship without refusal [*cairdeas gan éra*].’ They did so, and each bound the other. And Mongan went home and took [the cattle] with him.” Not long afterward Brandubh appears at the court of Ulster. “‘What hast thou come to seek?’ said Mongan. ‘For, by my word, if what thou seekest be the province of Ulster, thou shalt have it.’”¹ ‘It is, then,’ said the king of Leinster, ‘to seek Dubh-Lacha I have come.’ Silence fell upon Mongan. And he said: ‘I have never heard of any one giving away his wife.’ ‘Though thou hast not heard of it,’ said Dubh-Lacha, ‘give her, for honor is more lasting than life.’”

Brandubh is about to carry off the Queen when Dubh-Lacha calls him aside and addresses him as follows: “‘Dost thou know, O king of Leinster, that the men and one-half of Ulster would fall for my sake, except I had already given love to thee?’” She then binds him to refrain from associating with her for a year. “For,” she adds, “I fear the exceeding great love which I have bestowed upon thee.” “And the king of Leinster granted her that condition, and he took her to his house, and there she was for a while.” Later Mongan, accompanied by his favorite attendant, Mac an Daimh [whose wife has been carried off along with Dubh-Lacha], visits the court of Leinster. By his magical power Mongan transforms himself and Mac an Daimh into clerics and so gains access to the queen, but fails to carry her away with him. At the end of the appointed year, however, the two husbands by another ruse accomplish their purpose and so escape with their wives.

4. Of especial interest because it contains an abduction story combined with a rescue involving a clearly defined visit to the Otherworld (see pp. 53 f.) is the *Echtra Chormaic i Tír Tairngire* (“Adventures of Cormac in the Land of Promise”),² an Irish tale which, though found in no manuscript older than the fourteenth century, belongs to an

¹ The rash promise which must be redeemed at any cost turns up again in connection with Mongan’s mother. Fiachna Finn, when in great straits, is visited by a mysterious stranger who offers to help him provided a suitable reward is offered. “‘By my word,’ said Fiachna, ‘whatsoever thou askest, provided I have it, I should give it.’” The stranger then asks and receives permission to spend the night with Fiachna’s wife. He is Manannan mac Lir, a well-known supernatural being (see p. 43, n. 4). By Fiachna’s wife he becomes the father of Mongan (*Voyage of Bran*, I, 72). On the “rash boon” see below, p. 50.

² See Whitley Stokes, *Irish Texts*, III, Heft 1 (Leipzig, 1891), 211 ff.; S. H. O’Grady, *Ossianic Society* (Dublin, 1857), III, 212 ff. Cf. O’Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials*, pp. 441, 510.

earlier date and forms an episode in a document giving the fullest extant account of the legal ordeals of the ancient Irish.¹ The story may be summarized as follows:

While Cormac, the high-king of Ireland, is alone one day upon the wall of Tara, he is approached by a magnificently armed stranger who carries in his hand a magical sleep-producing branch² bearing three golden apples. The visitor announces that he is from a land wherein "there is neither age nor decay nor gloom nor sadness nor envy nor jealousy nor hatred nor haughtiness." The two form an alliance [*caradradh*], the stranger agreeing to give Cormac the branch " 'provided the three boons which I shall ask in Tara be granted me in return.' 'They shall be granted,' says Cormac. Then the warrior bound [Cormac to his promise], and left the branch, and goes away; and Cormac knew not whither he had gone." A year later the stranger returns and, exacting his three boons, demands and carries off in succession Cormac's daughter, son, and wife. "That thing Cormac endured not. He went after them, and every one then followed Cormac. A great mist was brought upon them in the midst of the plain of the wall. Cormac found himself on a great plain alone."³ Here the king comes upon several magnificent *duns*: one contains a house of silver half-thatched with the wings of white birds; another contains a shining fountain inhabited by magic salmon, and a palace where water for bathing is supplied by invisible hands. In the palace Cormac is welcomed by the mysterious stranger, who turns out to be Manannan mac Lir,⁴ king of the Land of Promise [*Tír Tairngire*].⁵ Manannan declares that he has lured Cormac to his land in order that he may behold the wonder of it. After undergoing a test of truthfulness, Cormac is assured by Manannan "that until today neither thy wife nor thy daughter has seen the face of a man since they were taken from thee out of Tara, and that thy son

¹ Cf. Zimmer, *Ztschr. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII (1889), 268; Nutt, *Voyage of Bran* (London, 1897), II, 11 ff.; *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, II (1899), 319.

² On this feature see E. Hull, *Folk-Lore*, XII (1901), 431 ff.; A. C. L. Brown, *Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 295 ff.

³ The mist and the separation of the hero from his companions are common features of the Celtic visit to the Otherworld.

⁴ A renowned supernatural personage in early Irish tradition. See A. C. L. Brown, [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 32, n. 2; Windisch, *Abhandl. der königl. sächs. Gesell. der Wissn.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., XXIX (1912), 109.

⁵ *Tír Tairngire* is a name frequently applied to the Irish fairy world. See Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1910), I, Introd., pp. clxxxii ff.; and the Index of Places, *Ir. Texte*, IV, Part I (1900), s.v. "*Tír Tairngairi*."

has not seen a woman's face." Cormac is now reunited to his family and receives from Manannan a marvelous truth-testing cup. "Now on the morrow, when Cormac arose, he found himself on the green of Tara [i.e., at home], with his wife and his son and daughter, and having his Branch and his Cup."

5. Further evidence of the popularity of the abduction theme in medieval Ireland is furnished by the *Aithed Emere le Tuir n-Glesta mac ríg Lochlann* ("The Elopement of Emer with Tuir Glesta, Son of the King of Scandinavia"),¹ which, though found in no manuscript older than the beginning of the fourteenth century, was composed somewhat earlier.² The tale runs as follows:

Cu Chulinn, accompanied by Loeg, his charioteer,³ goes out to hunt birds, leaving his wife Emer in his stronghold at Dundalk. During his absence "the son of the king of Scandinavia,⁴ called Tuir Glesta, . . . went to Dundalk, where Emer saw him and fell fervently in love with him.⁵ And she went with him, accompanied by her maid-in-waiting." The abductor and his followers then laid waste the district and carried off their spoil to "the Isle of Man,⁶ and to the Isles of the Foreigners, and to Anglesey." When Cu Chulinn heard the news, "he went himself with Loeg to Anglesey, and challenged Tuir Glesta to combat. And the son of the king of Scandinavia accepted fight, and mighty was the combat that was fought between them there. And the son of the king of Scandinavia was killed in that fight, and the fort was ransacked by Cu Chulinn, and he took Emer back again."⁷

¹ See Kuno Meyer, *Rev. celt.*, VI (1883-85), 184 f.

² "Viel älter als [ca. 1300] wird sie [the story] nicht sein, sie ist jedenfalls nicht über das 12. Jahrhundert hinaufzurücken" (Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, p. 429).

³ The hero's constant companion throughout the Cu Chulinn saga.

⁴ Though originally applied to an actual country, Scandinavia is here, as often in Irish romance, merely a name for a vaguely conceived transoceanic fairy world. Cf. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 11.

⁵ In the most ancient tradition Cu Chulinn's famous wife, Emer, is a model of conjugal fidelity. Cf. Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, p. 429.

⁶ The Isle of Man is sometimes identified with the Otherworld in early Irish tradition. In one version of the Cu Roi story it is the scene of Cu Roi's abduction of Blathnat. See above, p. 39, n. 4.

⁷ With the decadence of Irish romance during the late Middle Ages, accounts of daughters, wives, or mistresses abducted by supernatural beings and recovered

§ 3

6. The betrothed wife borne off by an unloved suitor (probably an Otherworld personage) appears in early Welsh literature in the *mabinogi* of *Pwyll Prince of Dyvet*.¹ *Pwyll* is one of a group of four tales which, though written in their present form probably between the Norman Conquest and the first quarter of the twelfth century, appear to represent, in their main outlines purely Celtic tradition.² The parts of the story that concern us here may be summarized as follows:

by lovers, husbands, or mere adventurers occur repeatedly as part of the conventional claptrap of which sagas and wonder-tales are composed. See, for example, *Tóruigheacht Shaidhbhe* (L. C. Stern, *Rev. cell.*, XVI [1895], 20 ff.; Max Nettlau, *ibid.*, X [1889], 459; *Ossianic Soc.* [Dublin, 1854], I, 41 f.); *Tóruigheacht In Ghilla Dhecair* (O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, I [1892], 271 ff.; II, 307 ff.); *Léighes Coise Chéin* (O'Grady, *op. cit.*, I, 300 ff.; II, 336 ff.; *Mod. Phil.*, XII [1914-15], 597, n. 2); *Echtra Thaidg meic Chéin* (O'Grady, *op. cit.*, I, 342 ff.; II, 385 ff.); *Eachtra Mhacaoimh-an-Iolair* (R. A. S. Macalister, *Ir. Texts Soc.*, X [1908], 132 ff.).

The same type of story is common in modern Celtic folk tales. For illustrations see J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1862), III, 41 (cf. *Leabhar na Feinne* [London, 1872], I, 153b, 154b; G. Schoepperle and others, *Rev. cell.*, XXXIII [1912], 41 ff.); Jeremiah Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland* (London, 1894), pp. 58 ff., 194 ff., 223 ff., 262 ff., 393 ff., 525 ff.; D. O'Foharta, *Ztschr. f. cell. Philol.*, I (1897), 477 ff.; Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* (London, 1889), pp. 72 ff.; Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends of Ireland* (London, 1899), pp. 27 ff., 42 ff., 107 ff.; Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* (London, 1902), II, 12 f. Mrs. S. C. Hall, *Sketches of Irish Character* (New York, 1845), pp. 226 ff., 228; M. Hogan, *Lays and Legends of Thomond* (new ed.; London, 1880), pp. 62 ff., 139 ff.; William Larminie, *West Irish Folk-Tales* (London, 1893), pp. 21 ff.; B. Hunt, *Folk-Tales of Breffny* (London, 1912), pp. 145 ff., 155 ff.; Rhŷs, *Y Cymmrodor*, V (1882), 86 ff.

¹ Ed. by John Rhŷs and J. G. Evans, *The Text of the Mabinogion from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1887), pp. 1 ff.; J. G. Evans, *The White Book Mabinogion* (Pwllheli, 1907), pp. 1 ff.; ed. and trans. by Lady Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest, etc.* (London, 1849), III, 5 ff. (trans. reprinted by Alfred Nutt, *The Mabinogion, etc.* [London, 1902 and 1904]; ed. and trans. by J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion* ["Cours de Litt. Celt.," III] [Paris, 1889], I, 27 ff.; 2d ed., 1913, I, 81 ff.).

² Cf. Loth, *Les Mabinogion* (2d ed.), I, 44; E. Anwyl, *Zeit. f. cell. Philol.*, I (1897), 278. See also *Rev. cell.*, XXXI (1910), 438, n. 1.

Early in the narrative Pwyll forms a bond of friendship with the Otherworld king Arawn. Disguised in the form of Arawn he spends a year in the latter's realm, but leaves Arawn's wife untouched.¹

Later Pwyll is visited by Riannon, a beautiful *fée* who declares her love for him and invites him to her land, where he is to marry her and thus save her from Gwawl, a magnificent and powerful Otherworld personage to whom she has been promised against her will. Pwyll pledges his assistance, and at the end of a year visits the court of her father, Heveydd Hen, accompanied by a hundred followers. While the guests are seated in Heveydd's hall celebrating Pwyll's marriage with Riannon, there enters a handsome young stranger. " 'The greeting of Heaven be upon thee, my soul,' said Pwyll, 'come thou and sit down.' 'Nay,' said he, 'a suitor am I and will do mine errand. . . . My errand is unto thee, and it is to crave a boon of thee that I come.' 'What boon soever thou mayest ask of me, as far as I am able, thou shalt have.' 'Ah,' said Riannon, 'wherefore didst thou give that answer?' 'Has he not given it before the presence of these nobles?' asked the youth. 'My soul,' said Pwyll, 'what is the boon thou askest?' 'The lady whom best I love is to be thy bride this night; I come to ask her of thee, with the feast and the banquet that are in this place.' And Pwyll was silent because of the answer which he had given. 'Be silent as long as thou wilt,' said Riannon. 'Never did man make worse use of his wits than thou hast done.' 'Lady,' said he, 'I knew not who he was.' 'Behold this is the man to whom they would have given me against my will,' said she. 'And he is Gwawl the son of Clud, a man of great power and wealth, and because of the word thou hast spoken, bestow me upon him lest shame befall thee.' 'Lady,' said he, 'I understand not thine answer. Never can I do as thou sayest.' 'Bestow me upon him,' said she [adding apart], 'and I will cause that I shall never be his.' 'Lord,' said Gwawl, 'it is meet that I have an answer to my request.' " Pwyll now agrees to give up his wife.

Riannon, however, claims a year's respite from Gwawl, gives Pwyll a magic sack, and lays out a plan by which he is to outwit the unwelcome suitor. At the appointed time Gwawl again appears and prepares for the wedding. While all are seated at the marriage feast, Pwyll, at Riannon's instigation, enters disguised as a beggar and gains from Gwawl permission to claim whatever boon he wishes. Gwawl acquiesces, whereupon Pwyll requires that his sack be

¹ The incident is spoken of as a test of *compagnonnage* (cf. Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 31, n. 3; Stowell, *PMLA* [1913], pp. 410 ff.). Professor Nitze draws attention to the fact that in the *Charrete* (No. 18) Bademaguz, the father of Meleaganz, urges his son to offer *compagnonnage* to Lancelot (*Si li doiz conpeignie feire*, vs. 3225). See also below, p. 51, n. 3.

filled with food. When Gwawl gets into the bag to pack down the contents, he is beaten by Pwyll's men until he relinquishes his claim to Riannon's hand. Then he returns to his own country. Pwyll and Riannon are now married in state.

The material presented above demonstrates the popularity of abduction stories in the earlier literature of the Irish and British Celts. The importance of the abduction motif among the stock themes of ancient Irish literary men is illustrated by its frequent occurrence in the *Dinnshenchas* (our oldest collection of legendary material), and by its appearance in two sagas of the Cu Chulinn cycle (the *Aided Con Roi* and the *Aithed Emere*), and in the *Tochmarc Étaíne*, which, even in its present fragmentary state, preserves two versions of the abduction and recovery of the heroine. The *Tochmarc Étaíne* enjoyed wide currency in the medieval Ireland and probably formed part of the repertory of the numerous Irish entertainers whose fame in England and on the Continent is often attested in the literature of the Middle Ages.¹ At least one ancient Irish abduction story, that recounting the death of Cu Roi, is known to have been celebrated in Britain.²

¹ Cf. Kittredge, *Amer. Journ. Phil.*, VII (1886), 177.

² There appears to be no reason to doubt the generally accepted view that the story of Guenevere's abduction existed in Welsh tradition before it was incorporated in the *Vita Gildae* and that the name of the abductor in the Welsh version was Melwas (Melvas). See above, p. 21, n. 4. The famous fourteenth-century Welsh lyric poet Dafydd ab Gwilym refers twice to Melwas. In one passage the poet stands at his hard-hearted leman's window and thinks of the window "at Caerleon of yore" which "entrance gave of old to Melwas" "at the house of Giant Ogurvan's daughter" (a name given to Gwenhwyfar in the Welsh triads). In another, Dafydd says that he has slept a sweet sleep under the green mantle of the trees like "the sleep of Melwas beneath [*var. in*] the green cloak." For the first poem see *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* (ed. Owen Jones and William Owen; London, 1789), pp. 326 f. (Poem No. 161, ll. 9 ff.); E. Stanton Roberts, *Llanstephan MS 6* (Cardiff, 1916), p. 33. For a translation of Jones and Owen's version see Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 66 f. For the second poem see *Barddoniaeth*, p. 220 (Poem No. 111, ll. 43 f.). For a translation see Rhys, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Cf. L. C. Stern, *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, VII (1909-10), 227 ff. Another poem, by Dafydd ab Edmwnt, also of the fourteenth century, represents the author as bewailing

With the evidence now before us, we may indicate certain conclusions with regard to the abduction theme in Celtic literature and medieval romance.

1. As regards the treatment of the abductor's character, the Celtic accounts fall into three groups, probably independent of each other in origin but often showing evidences of mutual influence. All three are represented in the earliest recorded literature. In the first, modeled on actual wife-stealing raids, the abductor is a mortal who carries off a woman from a neighbor's stronghold.¹ In the second, representing a well-established folk-lore formula, the lover is a supernatural being who becomes enamored of a mortal and carries her off to his realm.² In the third, also popular in origin, the abductor is a fairy personage, as in the second group, but he comes, not to make new conquests, but to claim a *fée* whom he has loved in the Otherworld. As will appear

his sad condition resulting from his mistress' unkindness. The passage in question runs:

"Alas that a bachelor's sigh avails not
For me to invoke the art of Melwas,
The thief, that, by magic and illusion
Took a fair one to the world's end:
To the green wood the deceiver went,
To the leafy rampart of a bough—
And to climb to-night aloft like him,
That is what I could wish to do."

Though accepted as the work of Ab Gwilym by Jones and Owen and by Stern (*op. cit.*, p. 227), the poem is attributed to Ab Edmwnt by Mr. T. Roberts in his edition of Ab Edmwnt's poems for the Bangor Manuscripts Society (p. 6), and the writer is informed on the high authority of Professor Ifor Williams that the ascription is supported both by internal evidence and by the manuscript tradition. It is difficult to resist the impression that the references by Ab Gwilym and Ab Edmwnt have to do with an otherwise unknown Welsh tradition regarding the abduction of Gwenhwyfar by Melwas.

¹ As in the *Táin Bó Flidais* (p. 33, n. 2), the *Aided Con Roi* (pp. 39 f.), and the story of Ailech (p. 39, n. 5). Cf. the *Aithed Emere* (p. 44).

² This type is represented in the *Dinnshenchas* (p. 37, n. 2, and pp. 35 ff.) and the *Echtra Chormaic* (p. 43), and has found great favor in more recent romances and in modern folk lore. Cf. the story of *Snám Dá Én* (p. 37, n. 1), where the abduction is not actually completed. Cf. *Rev. cell.*, XXXI (1910), 444 f.

from the following discussion (p. 57), it is this type that agrees most nearly with the abduction theme represented in Arthurian romance. _

2. In three of our earliest Celtic abduction stories—the *Tochmarc Étaíne*, the *Echtra Chormaic*, and *Pwyll*—the abductor gets possession of the lady by a ruse. In the two latter accounts he induces the husband to grant a request without knowing what is involved;¹ in the *Tochmarc Étaíne* he engages Eochaid in a game of chance in which the mortal is sure to lose ultimately. The attainment of an object by trickery rather than by force is remarkably common in Celtic literature,² and, considering the ultimate popular origin of the account before us, is highly appropriate.³ Playing a game with an uncanny creature for a forfeit to be named by the winner occurs frequently in folk lore, especially Celtic traditional narratives in which a device is needed to start the hero on a course of adventures,⁴ and its appear-

¹ From the evidence it is not improbable that a similar device figured in an early form of the Cu Roi story. In the oldest recorded version we are merely told that the disguised Cu Roi was to receive the whole booty, including the woman, as a reward for slaying Echde (*Do-breth do Choin Roi in indile ar dingbáil Echdi*). Cf. *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, IX (1913), 191, 194; *Eriu*, II (1905), 33, ll. 7 f. The seventeenth-century Keating, who may have had access to sources now lost, gives a slightly different account: Cu Roi agrees to assist the Ulstermen in their raid on the Isle of Man provided "he got his choice of valuables in the dun"; at the division of the spoil he selects the woman and carries her off in spite of Cu Chulinn's opposition.

² A characteristic piece of double-dealing is that practiced by Oengus mac Oc upon the Dagda (D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cycle mythologique irlandais*, pp. 274 f.; Meyer, *Cath Finntraga* [Oxford, 1885], Introd., p. xii).

³ The custom of making a promise or vow which must be kept at all hazards (*Ir. fír fer*, 'verum virorum') is frequently referred to in Irish tradition. Cf. H. Hubert, *Rev. celt.* XLII (1925), 330 ff. See also *ibid.*, III (1876-78), 184 (cf. Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 262); Zimmer, *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, I (1897), 101; Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, I (1880), 550; and Kittredge (*Gawain and the Green Knight* [Cambridge (Mass.), 1916], p. 11, n. 3), who compares "the knightly habit of granting requests and making pledges without knowing what is involved," and cites Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, II, 138. See further *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, XXX, 60, 238; Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 210, n. 4.

⁴ For examples see Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 196, n. 7.

ance in the *Tochmarc Étaíne* in place of the rash pledge is easily explained by the common element of intentional deception.

The motif of the ill-considered promise, usually known as the "rash boon," turns up in several of our medieval romances. In *Lanzelet*, *Iwein*, and *Gârel* it is the abductor who asks the boon, and although in the two latter romances the feature in question may be derived from literary rather than popular sources, it is none the less instructive as demonstrating its appropriateness in the eyes of the authors.¹ In view of the nature of the "rash boon," the offer of the abductor to prove his claim by combat is quite gratuitous, as it is also in the *Charete*, where the boon is asked by Kay instead of Meleaganz. Judged by the Celtic evidence, the "rash boon" should be connected with the abductor, and Guenevere should be won by that means alone.

Both in the medieval romances and in our Celtic documents the donor is forced to make or to fulfil the rash pledge by an appeal to some generally accepted standard of conduct,² such as fidelity to one's promise.³

The snatching away of the heroine without the preliminary "rash boon"—a situation found in numerous Celtic abduction stories and medieval romances—need not detain us here, as it represents a line of tradition easily distinguishable from that under immediate examination. The evidence does not appear to justify the inference that Chrétien's romance is based merely upon an account such as that given in the *Vita Gildae*, with the "rash boon" added later.

¹ In *Tristan*, as in *Pwyll*, the "rash boon" appears in connection with both the abduction and the recovery (on the Celtic affiliations of the Tristan episode see Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, II [1913], 420 ff., 528 ff.). In *Sir Orfeo* it is connected with the recovery, as it is also in the Welsh *Pwyll*. See Kittredge, *Amer. Journ. Phil.*, VII, 177 ff.

² In the *Comperit Mongáin* (p. 42) the bond of union formed between the hero and Brandubh, called "friendship without refusal" (*cairdeas gan éra*), suggests the *compagnonnage* of chivalric society. See above, p. 46, n. 1.

³ The specific form of the theme implied or expressed in our romances is close kin to that in which a host's hospitality is impugned if he refuse any request made by a guest.

3. In several of our earliest Celtic abduction stories the abductor delays either in claiming his promise or in consummating the union after the lady has been carried off. In the *Compert Mongáin* Dubh-Lacha accompanies Brandubh to his *dún* but binds him to refrain from consorting with her for a year.¹ In *Pwyll*, Riannon, though not actually abducted, requires her unwelcome suitor to wait a year before making her his wife. In the *Echtra Chormaic*, Manannan waits a year before claiming Cormac's wife, and when the king and his family are reunited, Cormac is assured that his wife's honor has been respected during her captivity. In the *Tochmarc Étaíne* the husband demands that the abductor delay a month before embracing Etain. Compare Cu Roi's unexplained delay in claiming Blathine from the Ulstermen, in the *Aided Con Roi*.

If, as seems clear from these examples, a delay of some sort was a well-established device for gaining suspense in early Celtic abduction stories, the fact may explain certain peculiarities in the accounts of the abduction of Guenevere. Though the Queen is abducted often, her captors generally show remarkable self-restraint. In *Durmart*, for example, Bruns, though in full possession of Guenevere's person, merely indicates his intention of holding her a prisoner until she is won back in fair fight. In *Lanzelet*, Valerín, following the example of the magicians in the type of story known as *The Enchanted Princess*,² satisfies himself by putting Ginover to sleep in an enchanted castle, from which she is, in due time, liberated by her friends. The motif of delay, established by the Celtic evidence, accounts satisfactorily for the situation in these romances, as well as for Bademaguz' assurance in the *Charrete* (see above, chap. I, No. 18) that Meleaganz has not violated the Queen.³

¹ This type of *ges*, or prohibition, is common in abduction stories occurring in late Irish romance and in modern folk lore. See above, p. 44, n. 7.

² Cf. Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 237.

³ In *Pwyll* the hero's consideration for Arawn's wife is dictated by friendship, which suggests the fact that in the *Charrete* Bademaguz urges the abductor to offer companionship to Lancelot. See above, p. 46, n. 1.

4. In the earliest Celtic abduction stories containing an account of the recovery of the heroine, the rôle of the rescuer is uniformly taken by the husband.¹ He is, moreover, usually accompanied by an army or other armed force, as is the case in the *Tochmarc Étaíne*, the account of Rath Esa in the *Dinnshenchas*, the *Aided Con Roi*, and the beginning of the rescue in the *Echtra Chormaic*.²

The situation in our earliest Celtic accounts is most closely paralleled by that in the *Vita Gildae*. In *Lanzelet* the army is present, but Arthur, in accord with the established conventions of later romance, is relegated to a secondary position in favor of his son Lout as leader.³ The substitution of a retainer or a mere adventurer for the husband is extremely common in late Celtic romance and in modern folk lore, but the typical situation in Arthurian romance, where the rôle of rescuer is assumed by the Queen's lover, finds no justification in the earliest Celtic tradition.⁴ If Lancelot or any other lover figured as the

¹ The exceptions furnished by the *Aided Con Roi* and *Pwyll* are only apparent. In the former, the author, knowing that Cu Chulinn as depicted in the oldest sagas of the Ulster cycle is married to Emer, is forced to represent him here as Blathine's lover. In fact, Blathine's complicated love story makes it difficult to say whether she was the wife of Cu Chulinn or of Cu Roi, or of either. In *Pwyll* the rescuer is the affianced rather than the actual husband of Riannon. Such fine distinctions need not disturb us.

² As indicated above (p. 43, n. 3), the separation of the questor from his companions in this account is due to the influence of the visit to the Otherworld, on which see pp. 53 f.

³ In the *Compert Mongáin* and the *Aithed Emere* the husband is accompanied by a faithful attendant, and in the *Táin Bó Fraich* (p. 37, n. 1) he enlists the aid of the famous Ulster champion, Conall Cernach. In the typical visit to the Otherworld the questor is frequently assisted by a friendly guide, but the latter is uniformly a supernatural personage or a human being under enchantment (cf. Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 232). The attendants in our Celtic stories have no place in the type, and the vaguely parallel situation in *Durmart* and *Lanzelet* is probably without significance in this connection.

⁴ The use of a ruse in connection with the rescue is confined to the *Compert Mongáin*, *Pwyll*, *Sir Orfeo*, *Tristan*, and certain later versions of the *Aided Con Roi*. Cf. G. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, II, 536.

rescuer before the *matiere* passed into the hands of courtly poets, the fact cannot be established from the Celtic analogues.

5. In view of the supernatural character of the abductor in numerous early Celtic abduction stories, it would be surprising if the account of the rescue had not occasionally attracted to itself some at least of the stock features of the visit to the Otherworld, a conventional type of narrative widespread in popular and sophisticated literature and especially well represented in early Celtic tradition. The visit to the Otherworld exists in several well-defined variants, one of which represents the hero as braving the dangers of the supernatural realm for the specific purpose of liberating mortals held captive there.¹

As pointed out above,² the *Echtra Chormaic* shows clear evidence of the influence of the visit to the Otherworld. The separation of the hero from his companions, the wall of mist that divides the world of mortals from the beyond, and the descriptions of the wonders of *Tír Tairngire* are all characteristic features of the type of Otherworld visit under discussion, and are common in early Celtic tradition.³

In the *Charrete*, Chrétien makes the abductor of Guenevere the son of the king of Gorre; i.e., Gower, near Bath,⁴ but he emphasizes the Otherworld character of his domain,⁵ and his narrative of the journey thither contains several features which occur frequently in Celtic visits to the Otherworld, and hence were presumably connected with the abduction theme before it was used in the *Charrete*. Noteworthy among

¹ Cf. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* (London, 1888), pp. 181, 190 ff.

² P. 43, n. 3.

³ For a partial discussion see *PMLA*, XIII (1905), 677, n. 8; XXXIII (1918), 627, n. 91. The underwater entrance to the Otherworld in the *Echtra Laogaire* (see above, p. 38, n. 1), the dwelling mysteriously supplied with food in the *Tochmarc Becfolá* (see above, p. 38, n. 1), and the revolving wheel in certain later versions of the Cu Roi story (see above, p. 40, n. 1) may be cited as further examples of Otherworld features attached to Celtic abduction stories.

⁴ See above, chap. I, No. 7.

⁵ He refers to it as the *reame don nus n'eschape* (vs. 1948), *dont nus estranges ne retourne* (vs. 645), *don nus retourner ne soloit* (vs. 5439).

these features¹ are the "hospitable hosts"² (see chap. I, Nos. 12 and 15) and the "perilous passage," consisting of a bridge under water³ (chap. I, No. 7), a Sword Bridge⁴ (chap. I, Nos. 7 and 17), and a falling portcullis⁵ (chap. I, No. 14). On the basis of the evidence hitherto collected it is highly probable that these features⁶ in the *Charrete* are derived ultimately from Celtic tradition.

¹ Celtic parallels to the episode of the "cart" (see above, chap. I, No. 4) have been noted in several early Irish sagas involving the visit to the Otherworld. In the *Serglige Con Chulainn* (*Ir. Text.*, I [1880], 220) the hero rides in his chariot to Mag Mell (the fairy world), and in the *Fled Bricrenn* (*Ir. Texts Soc.*, II [1899], 45 ff.) the Ulster champions on their way to visit Cu Roi are confused by a magic mist and encounter a giant, who robs them of their horses, arms, and chariots. On the basis of the evidence now available, it would be as perilous to claim Celtic origin for Chrétien's "cart" as it would be to deny the Celticity of the trait, since it does occur in Celtic otherworld visits.

² In the ancient Irish saga of the *Tochmarc Emere*, Cu Chulinn on his journey to the Otherworld puts up at "a large house in a great glen," where he is entertained by a hospitable maiden, and by a youth who gives him instructions regarding the road and its dangers (Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 72 ff.). See also *Ir. Text.*, II, 186 ff. For a treatment of the matter see Brown, *PMLA*, XX, 677, n. 4, and the literature discussed in chap. I above, pp. 9, n. 1.

³ On the "perilous passage" in Celtic literature see Brown, [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 75 ff. The fairy world under water and the subaqueous approach to it are abundantly illustrated in early Irish literature. See *Ir. Texte*, III, 1 (1891), 209; *Mod. Phil.*, XII (1915), 600, 602 ff.; XVIII, 447, n. 1; *PMLA*, XXXIII, 627. See also above, pp. 5 ff.

⁴ For the Celtic evidence see Laura Hibbard, *Rom. Rev.*, IV (1913), 166 ff. Whether the device is originally or exclusively Celtic does not concern us; it is sufficient that it turns up in a Celtic document early enough to have found its way from that source into Arthurian romance. Cf. Patch, *PMLA*, XXXIII, 635 ff. Regarding the sword bridge represented on a sculptured capital in the church of St. Pierre in Caen see E. de Robillard de Beaurepaire, *Caen illustré* (1896), pp. 177 f. On the sword bridge as used on medieval ivory caskets see R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (1924), pp. 491-97.

⁵ For a convincing discussion of the Celtic analogues to the falling portcullis in *Ivain* see Brown, *loc. cit.*, especially p. 80.

⁶ One is tempted to add the fight at the ford (chap. I, No. 7). Professor Thurneysen long ago (*Keltoromanisches* [Halle, 1884], p. 20) drew attention to the remarkable parallelism between the ford fights of medieval romance and those found in numerous early Irish sagas. For the evidence see *Mod. Phil.*, XII, 604, n. 1.

6. In an early version of the abduction of Etain, Eochaid discovers the whereabouts of his lost wife by the help of Dalan, his official druid. One of the druid's functions in early Irish society appears to have been that of acting as an intermediary between mortals and the inhabitants of the fairy world;¹ hence the appearance of a helpful druid in an Irish story involving an abduction by a supernatural lover is not surprising. So, in the story of *Snám Dá Én* the husband learns of his wife's supernatural amour from his druid(s).² In the variant of the Etain story furnished by the section of the *Dinnshenchas* devoted to Rath Esa, the King finds his wife through an individual possessed of magic knowledge—"Codal of the Withered Foot [or Breast]."

In view of the Celtic cases here enumerated, it can hardly be accidental that in *Lanzelet* Arthur is forced to enlist the services of the magician Malduc³ in order to find the abducted Queen, and one is strongly inclined to suspect that in the *Vita Gildae* a pacifistic Christian saint has taken the place of an older and more sinister figure.⁴

In fact, all the evidence available tends to substantiate the conclusion that in the *Vita Gildae* we are dealing with a tradition of Guenevere's abduction that existed in Welsh popular tradition before it was altered to fit into the Latin life of Gildas.

7. As in the medieval romances, so in the Celtic accounts there is no evidence that the abduction theme was connected originally with any particular heroine. Like other traditional plots, it was a sort of blank check to be filled in with characters according to the predilec-

¹ Cf. *Rev. celt.* XXXI (1910), 446.

² P. 37, n. 1. Magicians or other beings with superhuman knowledge also figure prominently as helpers in modern Celtic popular abduction stories. In most cases they are stock figures in the conventional visit to the Otherworld, which, though independent of the abduction type, is often combined with it. See above, p. 44, n. 7.

³ On Malduc see above, p. 24, n. 3.

⁴ Can it be also that Chrétien's Bademaguz, *qui mout iert soutis et aguz* (vs. 3158), owes something to an older mediator possessed of supernatural knowledge? Cf. Professor Nitze, below, p. 66, n. 1).

tions of the narrator. An analysis of our Celtic abduction stories from the standpoint of the woman involved brings out the following facts:

Women carried off by predatory chieftains appear in the earliest Irish accounts; but, whatever may have been the truth in real life, they are seldom abducted against their will. On the contrary, they are frequently represented as falling in love with their abductors at first sight¹ or as having already become infatuated with them from hearsay,² and they express their preference with a freedom that reflects, at one time the notorious laxity in sexual matters shown by women in ancient Ireland,³ at another the acquiescent attitude which characterizes the daughters and wives of giants, ogres, or other monsters in several classes of folk tales.⁴ When the abductor hails

¹ Cf. the *Aithed Emere* (see above, p. 44) and the cases cited in *Mod. Phil.*, XII (1915), 604, 613 f. Two classic examples of early Irish narratives in which the heroines fall in love with the heroes at first sight and force an elopement are found in the *Longes mac n-Uisnig* and the *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Grainne*. For editions and translations see R. I. Best, *Bibliography of Irish Philology, etc.*, pp. 92 f., 103. See also Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, pp. 323 f.; D'Arbois, *Essai d'un Catalogue*, p. 249; Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolde*, II, 397 ff.; Meyer, *Rev. cell.*, XI (1890), 125 ff.; *R.I.A.*, "Todd Lec. Ser.," XVI (1910), pp. xxiii f. The *Tóruigheacht*, though noted by D'Arbois as occurring in MS Harleian 5280 (B.M.), is not found in that codex (Flower, *Cat. of Irish MSS in the B.M.*, pp. 298 ff.). In the *Compert Mongáin* (p. 42) Dubh-Lacha's profession of love for her abductor, though probably a ruse, is fully justified by the tradition of Celtic abduction stories.

² Irish *grád ecmáise*, "amor in absentia," on which see *Mod. Phil.*, XII (1915), 612, n. 3.

³ For bibliography see *Rev. cell.*, XXXI (1910), 454, n. 1. See also D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Nouv. Rev. Hist. de Droit*, XV (1891), 304 ff. Whether the behavior of women in early Irish literature reflects a Celtic or a pre-Celtic culture has no bearing on the present argument. Cf. Zimmer, *Sitzungsber. der königl. preuss. Gesell. der Wissn.*, Phil-Hist. Kl., 1911, Heft. 1., pp. 174 ff.; Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 108. See also *Mod. Phil.*, XII (1915), 611 ff.

⁴ For a discussion of the types see Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 232 ff. The stories of Tuag (p. 37, n. 2) and of Treblann (p. 38, n. 1) show the influence of a type of popular literature in which a woman is held an unwilling captive by a brutal father, husband, or lover (usually uncanny or repulsive) whom she is glad to escape. In the *Longes mac n-Uisnig* (p. 56, n. 1) Derdriu at the time of her elopement is being brought up in a house apart from men so as to become a fitting mate for King Conchobar. On seeing Naisi, she at once falls in love with him.

from the Otherworld, as he does in one class of stories, the heroine is especially likely to fall an easy victim to his blandishments.¹ In another group of stories the heroine is a fairy being who yields for the time being to the well-known longing of *fées* and other female supernatural creatures to mate with mortals;² for a while she links her fortunes with an earthly spouse, but, like all other superhuman creatures forced to dwell in the mundane realm, she is never quite at home, and in accord with an inexorable law of her nature ultimately returns to her own land, sometimes at the behest of a former supernatural mate.³ Finally, it should be observed that here, as in the treatment of the abductor's character,⁴ confusion of types is frequently discernible.

The group of stories last indicated is admirably illustrated by the *Tochmarc Étaíne*, one of our most ancient and widely known Celtic narratives. As Professor Kittredge recognized many years ago, "Etain was a *fée* and the wife of a fairy prince.⁵ She was reborn as a mortal and married King Eochaid . . . of Ireland. Her otherworld husband endeavored to recover her and finally succeeded in carrying her off to his otherworld abode."⁶

No hypothesis suits the facts of the case better than that which

¹ In numerous cases, however, where the fairy lover is identified with a demon, or with the devil or with the king of the dead, or where he appears in a repulsive form as the result of enchantment, the lady's fear of her suitor may be emphasized to the exclusion of love. In *Sir Orfeo* (p. 31) the Celtic fairy lover is actually identified with Pluto. In such stories as these much depends on whether the narrator sympathizes more with the husband or with the lover.

² Cf. Kittredge, *op. cit.*, p. 238, and n. 2.

³ In early Irish tradition as well as in modern folk tales, the departure of the fairy wife is sometimes accounted for by the mortal husband's failure to conform to some law of her nature. See *Mod. Phil.*, XII, 622 ff.

⁴ See above, p. 48.

⁵ Accepting the fragments as they stand, Kittredge identified the otherworld lover with Mider (Midir). Several years later Nutt (*Rev. celt.*, XXVII [1906], 338) suggested that originally the lover was Oengus mac Oc (the Adonis of ancient Irish fairy mythology), who figures as the possessor (lover?) of Etain in one period of her otherworld existence. Whatever be the truth, we need not go behind the documents summarized above (pp. 35 ff.).

⁶ [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 190.

regards the mutual relationships of Arthur, Guenevere, and her abductors in early romance as a reflection of Celtic fairy lore.¹ Moreover, the suggestion that the story of Guenevere and her abductors is based ultimately on a Celtic tale in which a *fée* (such as Etain) leaves her Otherworld mate and becomes the wife of a mortal (such as Eochaid or Arthur), only to be sought out and carried off later by her first spouse,² explains a number of apparent inconsistencies in the romances dealing with Guenevere's character. In the light of the Etain story,

it becomes apparent why the abductor (in spite of his reprehensible conduct) is generally represented as an unusually splendid and formidable prince; why

¹ This hypothesis, it should be noted, stands entirely independent of any possible etymological connection between the names of the chief characters in the Irish and Romance accounts. The well-known efforts to connect *Arthur* with *Aiream* and *Modred* with *Midir* rest upon linguistic evidence too tenuous to be of any value. The literary evidence points to a story of the same *type* as that represented in the *Tochmarc Étaíne*, not necessarily that particular narrative, and this is all that is necessary. If any etymological connection exists it is to be found in the first element of Guenevere's name, *Guen-*, which is the equivalent of the W. *Gwen*, the feminine form of *Gwyn*, 'fair,' 'white' (cf. the *Win* of *Winlogée* in the Modena Sculpture; see above, p. 23), and the name *Be find*, 'fair,' 'white woman,' applied to Etain (see above, p. 35). Efforts have been made to connect W. *Gwenhwyfar* with Ir. *Finnabair*, the latter being the name of Queen Medb's daughter in several sagas of the Ulster cycle; but there is apparently no connection between them. Rhŷs' explanation of *Gwenhwyfar* as containing the word *-hwyfar*, 'a ghost or phantom' (*Arthurian Legend*, p. 38), must be discarded (cf. Windisch, *Abhandln. der königl. sächs. Gesell. der Wissn.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., XXIX [1912], 173), as also the analysis of Ir. *Finnabair* into *Finn*, 'fair,' and *siabur*, 'phantom.' *Finnabair* rather means 'fair-eyebrow' (cf. Henderson, *Ir. Texts Soc.*, II, 135). Only in her occasional lightness of character does the princess *Finnabair* suggest the behavior of Guenevere. Though usually, as in the *Táin Bó Fraích*, she is a model of maidenly virtue, she appears in certain early sagas as the tool of her unscrupulous and notoriously immoral mother. A much more illuminating parallel is found in the character of Queen Medb. She boasts openly to her henpecked husband, King Ailill, of her amours with other men (*Ir. Text., Extrabd.*, p. 6), and she has a *liaison* with the Ulster exile Fergus under the very nose of her husband, who dares not remonstrate (cf. Zimmer, *Sitzungsber. der königl. preuss. Gesell. der Wissn.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1911, Heft 1, p. 177).

² Miss Schoepperle implies that a similar account underlies the episode summarized above (p. 30) from the Tristan legend (*Tristan and Isolt*, II, 536).

his land is so peculiar and so rich; why Guinevere is not blameworthy in spite of these escapades, and Arthur no cuckold—till late ballad times at least;¹ why Guinevere is never maltreated in any of her captivities;² and why she is in no hurry when "rescued" to return to her legal spouse,³ or even finds difficulty in deciding between Arthur and Gasozein.⁴

The complaisant attitude of Arthur toward the erring Guenevere is undoubtedly imitated to some extent from that of the injured husbands in Provençal love poetry,⁵ but it should also be emphasized that both Arthur's leniency and Guenevere's frailty, as well as other motifs discussed above, are amply justified in popular tradition as represented by Celtic abduction stories such as the *Tochmarc Étaíne*. As Professor Kittredge has observed in another connection, "féés are not subject to the laws of human society. The mortal husband regu-

¹ See *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, above, p. 28, n. 1.

² See also above, p. 51.

³ A poem headed *Ymddiddan Rhwng Arthur Frenhin ai Ail Wraig Gwenhwyfar* ("Dialogue Between King Arthur and His Second Wife Gwenhwyfar") and printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (I [1801], 175 f.; 2d ed., 1870, p. 130) has been interpreted to imply (cf. Rhŷs, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 57) that Guenevere (Gwenhwyfar) after being abducted treated her mortal spouse with contempt, but the document appears to lack authority. Rhŷs, who used both the copy in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* and "a paper book . . . in the library of Lord Macclesfield," regarded the "text as a whole as modern" (p. 57, n. 1). The only manuscript discovered by the present writer to contain the piece is British Museum Additional 14867, a collection of poems copied by William Morris about 1758. Bruce (*Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I [1923], 196) refers to the dialogue as belonging to the fourteenth century, but the date appears to be without justification. Moreover, neither the situation nor the language of the speakers fits the established traditions of Arthurian romance. As Professor T. Gwynn Jones observes (*Aberystwyth Studies*, VIII [1927], 58 f.), "The reference to the small stature of Arthur is singular, and the statement of Gwenhwyfar that she had seen 'a man of moderate size at the table of Arthur, serving wine to his friends,' suggests that the person concerned here may not have been Arthur himself, but one of his followers, as the name Arthur does not occur in the text, except in this reference." In view of these facts, one is tempted to suspect that the poem is the work of a late writer and that it was not originally intended as a dialogue between Arthur and Gwenhwyfar. For the most recent translation see Professor Jones (*op. cit.*, pp. 58 f.).

⁴ Webster, *Eng. Studn.*, XXXVI (1906), 350.

⁵ See Professor Nitze's discussion.

larly loses his fairy wife and has a hard time to recover her. If his quest is successful, he never searches too curiously into her conduct during her absence. He is satisfied to win her back."¹ In other words, both Arthur and Guenevere are eminently fitted by ancestry for husband and wife under the system of Courtly Love as elucidated below (p. 95). Whoever first conceived the idea of making a Celtic tale such as the *Tochmarc Étaíne* the vehicle of courtly psychology was little short of a genius.

But neither the established traditions of fairy lore nor the highly unconventional relationships of husband, lover, and mistress in courtly society could long escape the taint of bourgeois moral standards. In some of our earliest Celtic abduction stories the eloping wife is likely to be regarded with extreme disapproval when she is human.² As a part of the process of rationalization to which Celtic fairy material was constantly subjected during the Middle Ages, the *fée* gradually came to be regarded as no better than her mortal sister. Dragged forth from a realm where the Ten Commandments are unknown into the cold world of conventional morality, Guenevere becomes merely a bad woman. Hence Geoffrey's condemnation of her affair with Modred (pp. 20 f.), Cornwall's claim to have been her paramour (p. 28, n. 1), the fourteenth-century tradition, recorded by Thomas Chestre,³ to the effect that she was wont to have "lemannys unther her lord," and Rhys's remark that in some parts of Wales during the nineteenth century, "to call a girl a Gwenhwyvar was as much as to suggest that she was no better than she should be."⁴ From the Middle Ages to the

¹ [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 189.

² In the story of *Snám Dá Én* (p. 37, n. 1) and in the *Aided Con Roi* (p. 41) the women's transgressions are punished with death. Gertrude Schoepperle (*Tristan and Isolt*, II, 464) points out that, according to the Book of Leinster (written ca. 1150), "it was customary to burn any woman who violated her betrothal" (LL 287 b 7). She also cites Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography* (Halle, 1906), s.v. "Airnaidm."

³ In *Sir Launfal*, vs. 47. See Ritson's *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, I, 170 ff.

⁴ *Arthurian Legend*, p. 49.

nineteenth century, the successive treatments of the Arthur-Guenevere story have been marked by unfruitful attempts on the part of Christian playwrights and poets to condone the conduct of a heroine whose character was framed originally in an ancient pagan world.¹

From the evidence presented above, we are justified in concluding that the accounts of Guen  vere's abduction in early Arthurian romance are based ultimately on a Celtic tale of the following type:

1. A husband is visited by a mysterious stranger. The visitor is a former lover of the lady and has come to claim her.

2. (a) The stranger claims the right to demand anything he may wish. When his claim is acknowledged, he asks for the person of the lady. (b) He snatches the lady away without ceremony.

3. He does not, however, consummate his union with her at once.

4. He is pursued by the husband (a) alone (b) in company with a band of armed followers.

5. He resides in a supernatural realm, which the rescuer reaches after traversing a perilous passage and being entertained and directed by a "hospitable host."

6. The rescuer finally succeeds in recovering the lady (a) by the help of a "wise man," (b) by a ruse.

7. The heroine is a *f  e*, the former wife (or mistress) of the abductor.

On the basis of investigations made up to the present, equally convincing evidence regarding the nature of Chr  tien's *matiere* is to be found in no other body of source material available to the author of the *Charrete*.²

¹ The situation in the *Vita Gildae* (p. 21), where the Queen is merely an unfortunate mortal woman *violata et rapta* by a wicked marauder, is probably due to the obvious inappropriateness of representing the wife of the great benefactor of Glastonbury Abbey as a willing partner in the guilt of her abductor. Cf. the situation in *Diu Cr  ne* (above, p. 27).

² See above, p. 32, n. 1. A possible exception may perhaps be necessary in the case of the abduction story in Malory, which, though based ultimately on the account in the *Charrete*, differs from it markedly. Queen Guenever, accompanied by a group of knights and ladies "clothed in green," is riding "on Maying in woods and meadows" when she is suddenly seized and carried off by Sir Meliagrance.

The situation here has been ascribed to the influence of the abduction of Eurydice (Persephone), but it should be recalled that a spring celebration in a flowery meadow is the scene of the abduction in Pleier's *Gârel*, where the setting is as likely to be the result of the influence of medieval lyric poetry as of classical mythology.

On the other hand, the Welsh evidence appears to be totally inadequate to justify the conclusion that the peculiar features of Malory's account go back to a Celtic version of the abduction. The Index to *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* (ed. Owen Jones and William Owen; London, 1789), p. 540, contains the following entry *s.v.* "Melwas": "A prince of North Britain. . . . He dressed himself in leaves, to lie in wait for Gwenhwyfar and her attendants, who, according to custom, was [*sic!*] to come on May morning to gather birch for garlands to welcome summer: by means of that disguise he ran away with her." William Owen, who is probably the author of this note, has a similar entry in his *Cambrian Biography*, which appears in 1803 (p. 248). Owen was a distinguished Welsh antiquarian of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He was perhaps honest, but he lived in an age when it was the fashion to manufacture Welsh tradition, and he was a co-editor of the *Myvyrian Archaeology* with Edward Williams (Iolo Morgannwg), who is suspected of having forged many documents which he attributed to the Middle Ages. Owen could hardly have been ignorant of the abduction story in Malory, and, as one of the editors of Ab Gwilym's poems, he of course knew the references to Melwas found in them (see above, p. 47, n. 2). His entry must therefore be regarded as a combination of Malory and Ab Gwilym, made either by Owen or by some one of his co-workers in the field of Welsh medieval antiquities. Ab Gwilym's line about "the sleep of Melwas beneath [*or in*] the green cloak" and Ab Edmwnt's somewhat longer but equally puzzling reference (p. 47, n. 2) are not sufficient to establish the existence in early Welsh tradition of a version of the Guenevere abduction story similar to that in Malory. Cf. Foerster, *Karrenritter*, *Introd.*, pp. xxxiii ff.; Paris, *Rom.*, XII (1883), 499 ff.

III

THE SENS OF THE ROMANCE

§ 1

WHEN Mary of France, daughter of King Louis VII, became Countess of Champagne in 1164, through her marriage to Count Henry I, the *Roman de la Charrete* (vs. 7125) had not yet been written; for the very good reason that the first line of the poem already calls her *ma dame de Champaingne*, and no other person could have been thus designated. But it was Mary herself who after 1164 furnished the poet not only with the matter but also with the idea of his romance. As Chrétien tells us near the end of the Prologue:

Matiere et sens l'an done et livre
La Contesse, et il s'antremet
De panser si que rien n'i met
Fors sa painne et s'antancion—

lines that may be interpreted thus:

Matter and meaning of it the Countess gives and delivers unto him; and he undertakes to direct his thinking¹ so that he may add nothing to it except his own effort and understanding.

This statement seems categorical. Yet as one examines it closely, it nevertheless allows the poet considerable latitude. For, as was shown² in *Romania*, XLIV (1916-17), 14 ff., *matiere* and *sens* as

¹ Foerster, note to vs. 26, says "*panser* scheint mir wenig zu passen; es soll hier 'bearbeiten,' 'ausführen' oder etwas ähnliches ausdrücken." But apparently *penser* retains a meaning close to its etymon; see Littré, *Dict.*, s.v. *penser*, 'méditer,' 'combiner.' Cf. also this example from the *Roman de la Violette* (ed. Buffum), vss. 26 ff.:

Puis ce di que li sens est miens;
Ne li doit nuire ne peser
Se je me deduis au penser.

² By W. A. Nitze.

applied to medieval literature are *mots d'école*. The first refers to the subject of a story—for example, in the sense that the *Æneid* was the subject matter of the thoroughly romantic and Ovidian Old French *Eneas*; and the second includes what the Latin medieval rhetorics termed the *interpretatio* or *expositio* of the story; and this consisted, in general, in saying the same thing in as many different ways as possible.¹ Indeed, no less than seven procedures are recommended by Matthieu de Vendôme (before 1173) for varying the expression of a given idea: first, the fact is briefly stated; then, the author may adduce proof; voice a universal truth that applies to the situation; make a statement to the contrary; use a simile; cite an *exemplum*; and draw a conclusion. According to this method, Chrétien may have adhered to Mary's *matiere*, reproduced strictly the *sens* she gave him, and yet by the mere *procédé* involved have added extraneous *matiere* in order to drive home the ideas she wished him to set forth; hence the guarded phrase with reference to his "effort" and his "understanding." Herein lies, we believe, the technique, the essential technique, of his romances—a genre of which he is, in the main, the creator. Compare *Cligés*, verses 18 ff.:

Ceste estoire trovons escrete,
Que conter vos vuel et retenir,
A un des livres de l'aumeire
Mon seignor saint Pere a Biauvez.
De la fu li contes estrez
Don cest romanz fist Crestiens.

All of these words—*estoire*, *livre*, *conte*, *romanz*—are deliberate on the part of Chrétien, who is proud of his workmanship. So it is with *matiere* and *sens*. He wants his reader to know that he is following the rules; his rules, not ours, of literary composition. This does not mean that originality was frowned upon or disregarded by the Middle Ages. "But the struggle of any original genius was . . . to break the fetters, or rather, to apply to his inspired use the consecrated formulas,

¹ In the main, consult now E. Faral, *Les Arts poétiques du xii^e et du xiii^e siècle*, "Bibl. de l'éc. des hautes études" (Paris, 1923).

without being cramped or paralyzed."¹ Did not that other Marie de France, misconstruing Priscian, extol the ancients for being obscure? And her reason was that this gave the "medievals" their opportunity:

que peüssent gloser la letre
E de leur sens le surplus metre.²

Even the Aristotelian *μίμησις*, as interpreted by the Renaissance, appears in a similar light. Or, if one turns to Horace, Chrétien's use, in *Erec*, verse 14, of

Une mout bele conjointure

strikes home. For it recalls the well-known

Tantum series juncturaque pollet

of the *Ars poetica*, verse 242.³ In the twelfth century, the doctrine of imitation was afloat, only it was medieval, and governed by medieval ideals.

§ 2

Turning now to the *matiere* of our romance, since neither the poet nor his patroness tells us what it was, we are compelled to rely on circumstantial evidence for an answer. In chapter II of this study Professor Cross has shown that it must have consisted in a version of the abduction of Guenevere by Melvas (Chrétien's Meleaganz); and that this, in turn, is ultimately descended from the type of story still extant in the Old Irish *Tochmarc Étaíne*. With this type, we may safely assume, the *matiere* had in common the following features (see above, p. 61): (1) the mysterious stranger; (2) the "rash boon" and the unceremonious abduction of the wife; (3) the delay of marriage for a year, and, perhaps, of the combat; (4) the pursuit by the "husband" (vs. 249 *Li rois monte toz premerains*) accompanied by followers; (5) the supernatural realm, which the rescuer reaches after being directed by a "hospitable host" toward a perilous passage; (6) the

¹ From G. L. Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry* (1915), p. 12.

² *Lais* (ed. Warnke), Prol., vss. 11 ff.

³ See the article in *Rom.*, Vol. XLIV, cited above.

assistance given the rescuer by a "wise man"—perhaps ultimately identical with the "host" or, later, confused with him.¹

These features Chrétien adapted to ideas given him by Mary, adding, as we shall see later, several others, and making the whole expressive of the theme that Lancelot is the sorely tested "Knight of the Cart."

But did the *matiere* represent Lancelot as Guenevere's lover? Without assuming with Paris (*Rom.*, XII, 508) that Chrétien's source was based on an Anglo-Norman poem now lost, we may note that as early as *Erec* (vs. 1694) Lancelot del Lac is mentioned as an important Arthurian knight, and that *Charrete*, verse 2357, refers to the *fée* who brought him up. But nowhere previous to our romance is Lancelot represented as in love with Guenevere. In the MHG *Lanzelet*, which derives from a foreign source (vs. 9325 *ein welches buoch*), he is not even Guenevere's prime rescuer, this rôle being taken by Malduc.² As for *Dieu Crône*, in which Lancelot does the rescuing, nothing is said there about an intimate relationship to the Queen. Thus we may accept Paris' opinion (p. 516) that it was Chrétien

qui paraît avoir eu l'idée de prêter à Lancelot d'autres sentiments et qui en a profité pour peindre l'amour, dans son roman, d'une façon qui a fait jadis et fait encore aujourd'hui le principal intérêt de son roman

—provided we grant that the originator of the idea may have been Mary, not Chrétien.³

¹ Bademaguz (vs. 3158 *Qui moult iert soutis et aguz*) appears primarily in the function of the "host." On *Maguz*, *Mabuz*, *Mabon*, see above, p. 6, n. 1.

² And by Lout; see chap. II. Foerster's error was noticed by Jessie L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac* (London, 1901), p. 16.

Stories about Lancelot and the Lady of the Lake may well have been current at the time the *Erec* was composed. As G. Huet, *Notes d'histoire littéraire* (Paris), p. 15, observes: "Les plus sceptiques seront bien obligés d'admettre l'existence, au moment où Chrétien a composé son *Erec*, de récits sur Lancelot."

Finally, Lancelot's name occurs in *Cligés*, vss. 4849 ff., in a tournament in which Cligés is the victor. See further, p. 13, n. 1.

³ Even Foerster (p. lxxviii) admits: "Aus dem früher Entwickelten ergibt sich die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass die mündliche Erzählung Mariens den Ehebruch noch nicht enthielt, sondern von ihr selbst hineingelegt worden ist."

§ 3

Let us now consider the *sens* of the romance in a more detailed manner. First, there is the important fact that in all of his romances, with the single exception of the *Charrete*, Chrétien upholds the ideal of love-in-marriage. This is a distinction not always recognized.

In the *Erec*, Enide is not only the *amie* but also the *fame* of the unjust but affectionate Erec. In *Cligés*, despite the Ovidianism and preciosity, it is again said of the hero (vss. 6754 ff.):

De s'amie a faite sa fame,
Mes il l'apele amie et dame.

And there Guenevere herself upholds the sanctity of the marriage bond in the words (vss. 2304 ff.):

Par mariage et par enor
Vos antraconpaigniez ansanble.
Einsi porra, si con moi sanble,
Vostre amors longuement durer.

In the *Ivain* the plot closes with the remark that the hero (vs. 6804)

est amez et chier tenuz
De sa dame, et ele de lui;

and in Chrétien's other romances it is the same. Per contra, the *Charrete* presents a relationship that is extra-conjugal, and to which Gaston Paris (*Rom.*, XII, 579) gave the rather general name of *l'amour courtois*.¹

Its particular traits Paris summarizes (578), as follows: (1) It is illegitimate (more accurately stated, "extra-conjugal," as above, cf. Andreas, *Reg.* 1: *Causa conjugii ab amore non est excusatio recta*); it is therefore furtive or secret (*Reg.* 13: *Amor raro consuevit durare vulgatus*). (2) Hence the lover occupies a position beneath his lady, who while reciprocating his love is haughty, capricious, and often unjust. (3) To be worthy of her, he sacrifices himself for her (*Reg.* 24: *Omnis amantis actus in coamantis cogitatione finitur*); and she, in turn, tests him in order to make him *valoir* ('be worthy'). (4) For love is an art

¹ Chrétien associates *amors* with *cortoisie* in vs. 4377; see chap. II. For further details see below, p. 76.

which has its rules, like those of chivalry; and these the lover must obey if he is to prevail.

While the evidence for Paris' fourth point occurs in the *Ivain* (vss. 16 ff.) rather than in the *Charrete*, it has long been known that our romance has some connection with the *De Amore* by Mary's court-chaplain, Andreas. This is amply attested, if in no other way, by the letter published by Mary in the *De Amore* (p. 152) under the date of 1174. Called upon to adjudicate the love affair of a *miles* (Fr. *chevalier*), Mary here submits the opinion: (1) that real love between husband and wife is impossible (*amorem non posse suas inter duos iugales extendere vires*); (2) that between lovers it is inseparable from jealousy (*qui non zelat, amare non potest*). But, she continues, this opinion has been reached only after ripe reflection (*cum nimia moderatione*) and with the consensus of other ladies (*plurium dominarum consilio roboratum*). The judgment, then, is in the nature of a *covant* (see *Ivain*, vs. 16), whether or not the product of an actual Love-Court is here beside the point. But Mary was born in 1145,¹ not as Paris affirms in 1138. Hence she was twenty-nine when the letter was written and had been married exactly ten years—ample time for the marital bloom to have worn away. If, then, we can trust the reference, her point of view is clearly established; and it makes little difference how much after 1174 scholars date² the *De Amore*, the fact is that Andreas' concept of love and that of Chrétien just about coincide—fully as much, let us say, as the *Traité des Passions* and the Cornelian drama in the seventeenth century. In short, the *sens* that Mary gave the poet consisted of two main ideas: (1) the extra-conjugal nature of the love affair, symbolized by Lancelot and Guenevere; (2) the deliberate or chosen obedience of the former to the latter in this relationship; or as Bédier,³ replying to Novati, stated it: "C'est le *service d'amour*, c'est la *soumission volontaire de l'amant à sa dame*."

¹ See Foerster, *Karrenritter*, p. xx.

² See the recent article by Arpad Steiner, *Speculum*, IV (1929), 92-95, on dating it before 1186.

³ Thomas, *Tristan*, II, 50; cf. Novati, *Studj di filologia romanza*, II, 388-419. The most recent statement of the case is by Jeanroy, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*,

It is worth noting that this definition differs materially from that of Foerster, who maintained (*Karrenritter*, p. xxii):

Den *san* . . . werden wir in der sklavischen Liebe, die den Liebhaber zum *willenlosen* und *niedrigen* Werkzeug seiner ihn absolut beherrschenden und nach Belieben hart und ungerecht behandelnden Geliebten erniedrigt, sehen.

It is Lancelot's constant striving to submit to the dictates of Guenevere, herself a sufferer in love's cause, even when they lower him in the estimation of others, that really constitutes the theme, the central idea—in a word, the *sens* of our romance.

§ 4

We are now in a position to consider how the *matiere* of the *Charrete* was "embellished" by the use of Mary's *sens*. First, one or two general observations. Obviously, no such closely knit system as that described sprang full-armed from Mary's imagination. Nor did it find a particularly warm echo in her poet's mind—or he would not have left his romance to be completed by Godefroi de Leigni or followed it with the strongly ironical *Ivain*. We assume that he did not like adultery, no matter how ardently others might justify it on grounds philosophical or social. Chrétien, poet of the *courtois* world, remains at heart a *bon bourgeois*. The irony of the situation is that he was instrumental in setting up the "system," to the origins of which we shall return presently.

It is necessary now to examine the *expositio* of the *Charrete* itself. As is usual in this study, we follow the outline of the plot given in chapter I.

The first clear example of *expositio* is the Rash Boon. It was part of the *matiere*. Presumably Chrétien shifted it from the challenger (Meleaganz) to Kay, who being Arthur's head cook, will remain in his service only on his own terms. To obtain these he uses the "rash

XXIX (1928), 212: "Cet amour n'a rien rien d'impérieux et fatal. . . Il est le résultat d'une détermination librement prise; quelle qu'en soit la soudaineté, il n'est nullement irréfléchi." On the philosophical aspects of it see the elaborate article of Myrrha Lot-Borodine, "Le service d'amour," in the *Mélanges Jeanroy* (1928), pp. 223 ff.

boon." Mary, accustomed, as all hostesses are, to the ebullition of servants, certainly got the point. For Chrétien was giving her a sample of realism; he was making his romance "contemporary."

But Guenevere, intrusted—through her own good nature—to the foolhardy Kay, is in tragic plight. In her distress she lets fall the remark:

se vos le seüssiez,

(for *vos* read *Lancelot*)

Ja, ce croi, ne me leïssissiez
Sanz chalonge mener un pas!

thus betraying her secret not only to the reader but to Count Guinables, who discreetly, however, drops out of the story. If secrecy be a condition of courtly love (see Andreas, *Reg.* 13), here is an example of how Chrétien weaves the idea into his narrative. Assuredly, the device is subtle and well turned. Rhetorically, it illustrates the fourth method of *expolitio*, in affirming an idea by a contrary.

In the next episode, that of the Cart, we come closer to the as-yet-unnamed lover. Chrétien purposely omitted Lancelot's departure from court. It is more effective narrative to present him when, weary from pursuit of Guenevere, he first asks Gawain for a fresh horse, and after it is slain, then mounts the fateful cart driven by a dwarf.¹

As for the motif of the cart, it served two purposes:

It enabled Chrétien to give Lancelot his pseudonym ("Chevalier de la Charrete")—a device that he made fashionable; and it furnished the particular "disgrace" which the hero undergoes for love of the Queen. Chrétien must have taken pride in this idea, or he would not have adverted to it throughout his later narrative.

But did the cart figure in the *matiere*? If so, in which capacity? Gaston Paris argues that it must have been present in the source, and he adds (p. 514): "Dans quelques contes, le fait de monter sur une

¹ Here, strange to say, G. Paris remarks (*Rom.*, XII, 483): "Ce qui est plus singulier encore, c'est l'obscurité qui règne sur la conduite du héros principal: d'où arrivait-il?" But, obviously, the apparent obscurity is part of the poet's artful purpose.

charrette fait rentrer sous l'empire de mort un habitant du "pays de l'éternel jeunesse." Since Lancelot is journeying to the realm, *don nus estranges ne retorne* (vs. 645), *don n'ist ne sers ne jantis hon* (vs. 1916), *don nus n'eschape* (vs. 1948), one might argue that originally the cart stood for the "chariot of Hades" (see *Homeric Hymns*, "Loeb Classics," p. 289) or a similar doleful conveyance. On the other hand, the Celtic Otherworld is not a "land of the dead," the cart is driven by a "dwarf" (*de pute orine* vs. 356), and already in the *Erec*¹ dwarfs, friendly and unfriendly, play a part in Otherworld adventures. So that, as Professor Cross states,² "it would be as perilous to claim Celtic origin for Chrétien's 'cart' as it would be to deny its Celticity"—the trait does occur in Otherworld visits mentioned above.

The episodes, numbered 5-11, that follow, show Lancelot's progress toward the Sword Bridge, interwoven with glimpses of Guenevere, who has preceded him in the train of Meleaganz. Here again the original *matiere* dealing with the Otherworld journey was adapted to the *sens* by Chrétien's shaping hand.

Episode No. 7, where the hero attempts suicide by trying to hurl himself from the castle- or tower-window, at the passing of Guenevere, is quite Ovidian (see *Metam.* v. 290):

"Qua" que "vis est vobis, erit et mihi" dixit "eadem,"
Seque iacit vecors e summae culmine turris.

The dead-knight-on-the-bier is another indication that the pagan Otherworld has been Christianized in the narrative. This appears also in No. 11, where the denizens of the country cease to *feire joie*,³ their

¹ See *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1914), 450 and 468; also the remarks on "banshees" and "dwarfs" in W. Y. Evans Wentz, *Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries* (Oxford Press, 1911), *passim*.

² Chap. II, p. 54, n. 1.

³ See Philipot, *Rom.*, XXV, 290, for the explanation of the *Joie de la Cort* in the *Erec*, and for the Irish *Inis Subai* ('Island of Joy') see Windisch, *Kurzgefasste irische Grammatik*, §§ 118-20. In the *Eructavit* (ed. Jenkins), which is also dedicated to Mary (*ma dame de Champaigne*, vs. 3), the expression has become a literary conceit:

Que droiz est que chascuns s'atort
Contre la joie de la cort.

favorite pastime, at the approach of Lancelot. Yet here Lancelot raises the lid of a tomb (John 20:1: *lapidem sublatum a monumento*), thereby liberating the imprisoned people—a trait that is obviously Christian, not Celtic.

Again, the tests that Lancelot now undergoes are either part of the *matiere* or were taken from a similar Otherworld setting. They are of two kinds. The first, No. 6 ("The Perilous Bed"), like the men-at-arms in verse 1110, is a trial of his physical courage. The other tests, especially the promises exacted of him by the second, third, and fourth damsels, are a proof of his loyalty to the Queen. They culminate in No. 9 ("The Temptation") with the conclusion (vs. 1276) that Lancelot behaved "*Con cil qui est amis antiers*"; and to be a "complete lover" is his joy as well as his nemesis.¹ Since the text implies that the second and third damsels are the same person and this is actually the case in the prose *Lancelot*, it seems clear that in the *matiere* there was a single Otherworld temptress,² as, e.g., in the Welsh *Pwyll* and the Middle English *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*. By means of *ex-politio*, Chrétien split up this personage into four. Finally, two of the love-incidents in this part of the poem are set forth with considerable care. The first is Lancelot's trance at the ford; he is thinking of Guenevere and his opponent knocks him into the water. It, therefore, exemplifies Andreas, *Reg.* 30: "*Verus amans assidua, sine intermissione, coamantis imaginatione detinetur*"; but in the *sens* there is also an anticipation of Perceval's reverie over the "three colors" in the *Conte del graal* (vss. 4126 ff.), which Zimmer has traced to an unquestioned Irish source.³ The other notable incident is No. 10 ("The Golden

¹ See the explicit statement of the *Queste del saint Graal* (ed. Pauphilet), p. 66: "Sire, fet Lancelot, il est ainsi que je sui morz de pechié d'une moie dame que je ai amee toute ma vie, et ce est la reine Guenievre, la fame le roi Artu." Cf. also the *Perlesvaus*, *passim*.

² See note to No. 12 in the outline above.

³ *Keltische Studien*, II (1884), 200 ff. He says: "Es liegt auf der Hand, dass der Zug im Irischen nicht nur am alterthümlichsten und natürlichsten ist, sondern auch der [irischen] Sage notwendig angehört." Cf. W. Golther, *Sitzb. d. könig. bayer. Akad., Philos.-philol. Cl.* (Munich, 1890), II, 185; and Nitze, *Perlesvaus* (Baltimore, 1902), p. 56.

Comb"), which introduces the Ovidian conceit that the true lover loses color and speech at the sight of the beloved (see also Andreas, *Reg.* 15). But, in the reference to Guenevere's golden hair, as the occasion for his demeanor, it is also a reminiscence of *Cligés*, verses 1643 ff:

Bien fet Amors de sage fol,
Quant cil fet joie d'un chevol,

and thus a sign that Chrétien, like Chaucer later on, had a sense of humor. In both *Charrete* and *Cligés*, the incident was taken from the legend of "The Maiden with the Golden Hair" as employed in the *Estoire Tristan*.¹

The next episodes, beginning with No. 12 ("The Hospitable Host") and concluding with No. 18, form a pattern that can be supported, if necessary, by testimony drawn from the *Erec* and the *Ivain*.² It consists of the following motifs, part of which may derive from the *matiere*, while part may have been added from similar, Otherworld stories: (1) The hero visits a castle, whose *vavasor* (or whose household) entertains him royally. (2) The *vavasor's* wife or daughter or niece makes love to him. This motif develops into a serious love affair (*Erec* and *Enide*, *Ivain* and *Laudine*) or it remains a test of the hero's loyalty (*Pwyll*, *Grene Knight*, *Charrete*). (3) While being entertained, the hero is warned of the perilous journey ahead of him. (4) The next day the *vavasor* shows him the road to a narrow, dangerous passage or crossing.

All of these traits are found in the *Charrete*, although our poet, intent on lengthening his narrative, has split them up, moved them about, and repeated several motifs several times. The reader sees at a glance that the last trait occurs twice: first, as the Passage of Stones—a kind of giant's causeway; second, as the Sword Bridge. Indeed, a third instance is the Water Bridge, which, however, is reserved for Sir

¹ For particulars consult W. Golther, *Tristan und Isolde* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 20 ff., and F. Ranke, *Tristan und Isolde*, "Bücher des Mittelalters," Vol. III (1925), Index.

² See A. C. L. Brown, *Ivain: A Study*, in the [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, Vol. VIII.

Gawain; and for which there is a parallel in the *De Amore*.¹ Through this duplication the poet is enabled to place No. 14 ("The Falling Portcullis") before the Sword Bridge, and then to describe, in No. 15, a second Hospitable Host to whom in turn he links, in No. 16, a parallel figure to Meleaganz, i.e., a second Challenger, and a typical Loathsome Damsel.

Confused as this medley is, it serves at least to retard the narrative, thus extending the romance to the conventional seven thousand lines. Two of the motifs employed are of special interest for the *matiere*. One of these is the Falling Portcullis (No. 14), which imprisons the hero and leads him to consult the "ring that destroys enchantment." The close similarity of this episode to *Ivain*, verses 907 ff., has struck many scholars. In *Ivain* (vs. 1023), the ring renders its bearer invisible—a classical *rapprochement*.² Here it dispels *anchantement*. Otherwise the situation is the same in both romances.

But, while in the *Ivain* the ring is given the hero as a guerdon, in the *Charrete* it is a gift from *une fee ... qui ... le norri an s'anfance* (vs. 2359). And this is supported by the prose *Lancelot* (ed. Sommer, III, 103) where the Lady of the Lake gives the boy Lancelot "un anelet ... et li dist quil a tel forche quil descuevre encantements et fait veoir." So, too, the Middle High German *Lanzelet*, which makes no mention of the ring, nevertheless relates that Lancelot is reared by a water-fairy (*merfine*) in the "Land of Women."

Hence we may again agree with Gaston Paris (p. 459): "que Chrétien, ainsi que son public, connaissait l'histoire de la dame du lac qui éleva le jeune Lancelot, comme elle est racontée dans le *Lanzelet* d'Ulrich et ailleurs." For, after all, the reference to the fairy in the *Charrete* is quite incidental; it has no effect whatever on the plot, and it is impossible to ascertain whether or not it was in the *matiere*.

As for the other motif mentioned, this case is hardly open to doubt.

¹ See Foerster, *Karrenritter*, p. lxxii. Andreas (p. 298) describes it thus: "Pons quidam erat aureus et in duabus utrinque ripis capita tenens; medium vero pontis residebat in aqua et saepius vacillando procellarum videbatur unda submersum." See chap. II above.

² See above, p. 10, n. 1, on the Ring of Gyges.

The Sword Bridge must have occurred in the *matiere*; it is essential to the Otherworld journey, it is a test of the hero's valor, and—as established by Laura Hibbard¹—it corresponds to the famous Bridge of Leaps in the *Tochmarc Emere*. Among the twenty-seven hero's feats attributed to Cu Chulinn was the "edge-feat." As this is the characteristic test of the Sword Bridge, there can be little question of its ultimate Celtic derivation.

We now reach the combat between Meleaganz and Lancelot. It is at once clear that Chrétien is psychologizing on the situation. Bademaguz, the real Hospitable Host in the *matiere*, is courtesy itself in his attitude to Lancelot. He sides with him against Meleaganz (No. 18), and he gives assurance that the Queen has not been "violated" (vs. 3378). This is a traditional trait, belonging to the *matiere*. But Chrétien depicts the father as an exemplar of good breeding who chides his son as in some medieval *chastoïement*.

In the actual combat (No. 19), and succeeding episodes down to No. 23, the love interest is again dominant and Mary's *sens* has full sway. In the first place, the "Knight of the Cart" is now revealed by the use of his own name. The cry of "Lancelot," "Lancelot!" is shouted across the tournament; he fights well only when Guenevere's gaze is fixed upon him (cf. Ovid *Epis.* xvii. 93; *HRB*, IX, xiv; *Brut*, vss. 10803 ff.); and he implicitly obeys her command by letting Meleaganz have the field. Hence the use of such epithets as *obeïssanz* (vs. 3816), *amis antiers* (vs. 3813), and *fin amant* (vs. 3980). They show how true the hero is to the *courtois* code, for Guenevere's whims are Lancelot's law. And this idea reaches its climax when, in No. 20, Lancelot is finally led before her and she, in turn, denies him her "salutation."

Inevitably the modern reader bridges the years and turns to the well-known passage of the *Vita Nuova*:

quella gentilissima donna . . . passando per alcuna parte mi negò il suo
dolcissimo salutare, nel quale stava tutta la mia beatitudine.²

¹ In the article cited above, chap. I, p. 12.

² Ed. Agresti, p. 55.

The motif is the same. It was Chrétien de Troyes who invented it, while Dante, the far greater poet, transmuted it into life—his life and ours. All the same, the French poet has his merits, and they appear not only in his grasp of Guenevere's psychology but also in his thoroughly medieval excursus on the "service" of love:

Ainz est amors, et corteisie
 Quanqu'an puet feire por s'amie [vs. 4386].

This subject must be reserved for fuller discussion later on. But we may now note that here the poet justifies us in our use of the term "Courtly Love," the "service" of which is also described in the following passage from the *De Amore* (p. 27):

Eum autem, qui plus *servit* et *obsequia* plura facit, praemiis esse maioribus dignum quam qui pauciora laudabilia fecit.

And with an eye on *Colossians*, III, 24, Andreas Capellanus proceeds to explain:

Ex eo satis est manifestum, quod tam in coelestis curia regis quam etiam principum terrenorum omnes cernimus, iuris istius peritia censer, ut qui plus servit, maiora praemia ferat.

Accordingly, after a typical *plet d'amor* in Ovidian style, Chrétien allows his lovers to enjoy their first love-tryst (No. 20). But his motivation is now based on the *Tristan*, and the result is: the betrayal of the lovers, managed by Kay (not by Andret, as in the *Tristan*); the false oath, sworn by Lancelot; and the departure of the latter in search of Gawain, who at last crosses the Water Bridge to Bademaguz' realm. There is no reason to think that any part of this section of the poem derives from the *matiere*.¹ In fact, here we have a clear instance of *expolitio* through the use of borrowing from an extraneous source, and Chrétien's own *Cligés* is the typical example of this *procédé*.²

¹ With the possible exception of the Water Bridge itself, and even that may have been taken from the story told by Andreas, pp. 295 ff. In view of the earlier dating of the *De Amore* this conjecture is no longer precluded.

² On the *Cligés* as a *Tristan renouvelé* consult the epoch-making review by G. Paris in the *Journal des Savants* (1902).

Several scholars¹ considered the *Cligés* as the source also of the next important episode: "The Three [Two] Days' Tournament" (No. 24). Without delving into the problem of the folk tale in which a shepherd wins the hand of a princess by thrice performing a feat on horses of various colors, we may note the following facts:

As a test of chivalry, "The Three Days' Tournament" is already upheld by Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, IX, xiii: "Nullius amorem habere dignabantur, nisi tertio in militia approbatus esset." This statement alone, with its reference to "love," would have justified Chrétien's use of the episode in both *Cligés* and *Charrete*. But the incognito maintained by the hero, through the use of white, red, green (and black) armor in *Cligés*, *Lanzelet*, and *Ipomedon*, proves that the tournament is there connected with the folk tale. So, too, in the *Charrete* (vs. 5570) Lancelot wears "red" in order not to be recognized, although Guenevere sees through the disguise.

Hence, it is improbable that Chrétien invented the episode. And, in that case, he need not have borrowed it from his own *Cligés*. It is far more likely that the folk tale was current at the time and that Chrétien adapted it separately to the *Cligés* and the *Charrete*.

In so doing, however, he introduced a modification into the three-fold contest in order to harmonize it with the *sens* of the romance. Lancelot, the Red Knight, is announced to the tourney in terms meant to be impressive: "Or [says the herald] est venuz qui aunera!" This expectation is fulfilled, for Lancelot defeats all opponents—until Guenevere sends him word to *faire au noauz*, 'play the coward,' in the second round of the tourney. He immediately obeys, and, while she lets him redeem his honor in the third round, he has now amply proved to the Queen—and to all "courtly" lovers—that he is indeed her *amis antiers*.

Here the romance ends for Chrétien. To be sure, he leads his hero back to the "prison" to which he had been carried before the tournament was arranged (No. 25). Thence it is that, in the continuation by Godefroi de Leigni, Lancelot is rescued through the good offices of

¹ Foerster and his school.

Meleaganz' sister, whereupon he returns to Arthur's court and triumphs over Guenevere's abductor and finally kills him. The close of the story is banal and adds nothing to its meaning.

The real *Roman de la Charrete* had closed, not with the rescue of the Queen from her Otherworld abductor, but with her complete enthrallment of Lancelot. This was the ultimate *sens* of the story to Chrétien, to the later Grail-Lancelot cycle, and to Dante and the Middle Ages in general. Did not Mary of Champagne agree that this was the true ending? Or had she quarreled with the poet so that he allowed an underling to complete the *matiere*?

To these questions there is no satisfactory answer.

To sum up, it is clear that Chrétien used the method of *expolitio* to elaborate the originally Celtic *matiere*, that he repeated motifs from his earlier works, that the *Tristan* served him not only for incidents but also for contrast, and that he Christianized the setting (in part) and gave it the imprint of feudalism. His indebtedness to Ovid, also apparent above, will be considered in detail in the next chapter.

IV

THE LOVE-SERVICE IN THE ROMANCE

§ 1

AS EARLY as 1125 William of Malmesbury¹ observed: "the Britons rave [*delirant*] about Arthur" and "fallacious fables dream about him [*fallaces somniarent fabulae*]"; they are "idle songs [*naeniae*]." Hence it should surprise nobody that when Geoffrey of Monmouth published his *Historia regum Britanniae* (1138), where Arthur occupies the foreground, many of Geoffrey's contemporaries treated the book with scorn. As William of Newburgh (1200) remarked of Geoffrey: "Fabulas de Arturo, ex priscis Britonum figmentis sumptas et ex proprio auctas, per superductum Latini sermonis colorem honesto historiae nomine palliavit."

To give to fairy tales the "honest name" of history is bad enough—even in the twelfth century. But what might these fact-minded chroniclers have said had they realized that the fanciful picture Geoffrey drew of the Arthurian court, though doubtless reflecting contemporary manners,² has a background in Ovid!

Amores i. 9. 1 makes of every lover a soldier and, also, of every soldier a lover:

¹ *De gestis regum* (ed. Stubbs, 1887), I, 8 (Rolls Ser. No. 90, 1, 11-12), and III, 287.

² G. Paris, *Rom.*, XII, 520, suggested that Geoffrey had in mind the court of Henry I, who died in 1135. Henry's contemporaries lauded him, and Walter Map, *De nugis curialium* (trans. of Tupper and Ogle [New York, 1924], p. 274) says: "Hence this king's court was a school of virtue and wisdom all the morning, of courtesy and decorous mirth all the afternoon"—words that recall Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*, vss. 6502-5:

Mes de festes ke tint li reis,
Del boschaier ne del gabeis,
Del dounaier e de l'amur
Ke demenat li reis meillur.

Militat omnis amans et habet sua castra Cupido. . .
 Quae bello est habilis, Veneri quoque convenit aestas. . .
 Mars quoque deprensus fabrilis vincula sensit.

The *Heroïdes* is a gallery of these lovelorn fighters; in vii. 32 Dido prays Cupid to place Aeneas in his camp:

Frater Amor! castris militet ille tuis.¹

And, as is well known, the *Ars amatoria* enforces this lesson (ii. 233):

Militiae species amor est, etc.

Hence the true lover is active:

Ergo desidiam quicumque vocavit amorem,
 Desinat; ingenii est experientis amor.
 Ardet in abducta Briseide magnus Achilles.²

Already we have a glimpse of the later Lancelot "burning" for Guenevere. But, in Ovid, the beloved also has a part to play, and she encourages the lover with her glances; see *Amores* iii. 2. 13:

Si mihi currenti fueris conspecta, morabor,

 Nempe favore suae vicit tamen ille puellae.
 Vincamus dominae quisque favore suae;

or, more definitely, *Epist.* xvii. 93:

Cum vero possum cerni quoque, protinus addis
 Spectatrix animos, ut valeamque facis.

Now, Geoffrey's whole conception of chivalry rests on the idea³ that the court of King Arthur is a society of knights and ladies, lovers and beloved, knighthood (*militia*) and love (*amor*) reacting upon one

¹ Cf. further *Amores* i. 9. 5:

Quos petiere duces animos in milite forti,
 Hos petit in socio *bella puella* viro.

² *Amores* i. 9. 31, also 46.

³ Cf. A. Leitzmann, *Archiv. für N. Spr.*, CXXXIV (1916), 373. For chivalry in the service of Christianity, as in the *Roland* and French epic generally, see the *Regulae* of the Order of the Temple, in 1128, published by Henri de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple* (Paris, 1886), sec. 2: "In ipsa refluuit jam et revixit *ordo militaris* [the French translations read *ordre de chevalerie*], qui despecto justicie zelo non pauperes aut aecellesias defensare, quod suum erat, sed rapere, spoliare, interficere contendebant. . . . Divina [sec. 5] ut credimus providentia a vobis in

another like alternating currents. This dynamic relationship of the sexes, so essential to the "courtly" system, is set forth by the *HRB*, IX, xiii, in the following terms:

Quicumque vero famosus probitate miles in eadem erat, unius coloris vestibus atque armis utebatur. Facete etiam mulieres consimilia indumenta habentes, nullius amorem habere dignabantur nisi tercio in milicia probatus esset. Efficiebantur ergo caste et meliores et milites pro amore illarum probiores [MS Cambridge 1706, fol. 98^{ro}.]¹

But, if love inspires knighthood, and vice versa, the tournament is the testing-ground of this ideal; see *HRB*, IX, xiv:

Mox milites, simulacrum praelii facientes, equestrem ludum componunt: mulieres in edito murorum aspicientes in furiales amoris flammis more joci irritant. . . . Quicumque ergo victoriam ludi sui adeptus erat, ab Arturo largis muneribus ditabatur.

In these passages from Geoffrey, three facts are to be noted: (1) The setting is courtly; cf. the use of the words *furiales* and *facete*. (2) A fixed system of love is advocated: love inspires valor, valor inspires love—the sexes are still on a basis of equality. (3) The test is the tournament—the use of *tercio* is significant, as is also the fact that the sight of the women (*in edito murorum aspicientes*) induces Arthur's men to fight (*in furiales amoris flammis more joci irritant*). A glance at Wace's elaboration of *HRB*, the *Roman de Brut* (1155), reveals how effective Geoffrey's ideal became for the later French romance, and, of course, for Chrétien de Troyes. Two examples, will suffice:

sanctis locis sumpsit initium hoc genus novum religionis . . . et sic *religio per militiam* procedat, hostem sine culpa ferat." This type of chivalry is in the spirit of St. Bernard and is not *courtois* or gallant, as it is in Geoffrey.

¹ The reading (kindly supplied by J. J. Parry, of the University of Illinois) of *Jesus* 61, fol. 112^{vo}, is as follows: "kans vn arver oedd hollwyr llys Arthyr a gwagedd y gwyr hyny vn arver oeddynt o voessav a dillad ac ni vynai na gwraic na morwyn na gur na gordderch onid milwr kampys profedic. Ac am hyny dewrach vyddair gwyr a diwairach y gwagedd" (For one usage had all the men of Arthur's court, and the wives of these men had but one use of custom and dress, nor would matron or maid accept as husband or lover any but a well-proved, skilful warrior. Thus were all the men more valorous, and more chaste the women).

1. *Brut*, verse 10791 reads:

Ne ja chevalier n'i eüst,
 De quel parage que il fust,
 Ja peüst en tute sa vie
 Avoir bele dame a amie
 Se il n'eüst .iii. feiz¹ esté
 De chevalerie esprové.
 Li chevalier mielz en valeient
 Et en estor mielz en faiseient,
 Et les dames plus lé serveient
 Et plus castement en viveient;

2. *Brut*, verse 10819, continues:

Les dames sur le mur monteient,
 Qui les jus agarder voleient,
 Qui ami aveit en la place,
 Tost li montre l'oïl et la face.

Compare, also, the following passages from Chrétien: *Erec*, verse 911:

Erec regarde vers s'amie,
 Qui por lui mout doucement prie.
 Tot maintenant qu'il l'a veüe
 Li est mout granz force creüe;²

Cligés, verse 592:

Mes de toz amanz est costume,
 Que volantiers peissent lor iauz³
 D'esgarder;

and, especially, verse 3804:

Proesce et amors qui l'anlace
 Le fet hardi et combatant;

Charrete, verse 3738:

Et force et hardemanz li croist,
 Qu'amors li fet mout grant aïe;

¹ Colbert MS 7515.

² Also, vss. 3289 ff.

³ On the eyes as generators of love, see H. R. Lang, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIII (1908), 126-27, and, especially, J. F. Hanford, *ibid.*, XXVI (1911), 161-65.

and verse 3767:

Devant la reine sa dame,
 Qui li a mis el cors la flame,
 Por qu'il le va si regardant;
 Et cele flame si ardant
 Vers Meleagant le feisoit.

Thus the dependence of Chrétien on Geoffrey, and through him on Ovid, is manifest. But, should there still be doubts on the latter score, let the reader refer to the *Concilium amoris*, dated by Suchier early in the twelfth century. There he will find in verses 25 ff. the statement:

Lecta sunt in medium quasi evangelium
 Præcepta Ovidii doctoris egregii;

and, as justifying the choice of a 'knight' (*miles*) by one of the Elizabeths at the Council,¹ this striking parallel to Geoffrey's text:

Audaces ad proelia sunt pro nostra gaudia;
 Ut sibi nos habeant et ut nobis placeant;
 Nulla timent aspera, nec mortem, nec vulnera.

Ovid said: "We praise old times but use the present age." In this case certainly history was to bear him out.

But "love" also has its dangers, and, as Ovid wisely admits,² the chief of these is "sloth"—on which, in turn, love feeds and nurtures inactivity. The *Remedia amoris* pictures the disease and states the specific:

¹ On a later date (1150) for the *Concilium* see Faral, *Sources latines des contes et romans courtois*, p. 211; also Charles Oulmont, *Les Débats du Clerc et du Chevalier* (Paris, 1911), p. 62. Already No. 110 of the *Carmina Burana* ("Tempus adest floridum") celebrates the charms of the clerks:

Virgines cum clericis
 Simul procedamus
 Per amorem Veneris
 Ludum faciamus.

On Walter Map's attitude see his *Consultatio sacerdotum*; also Oulmont, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.

² See the delightful book of E. K. Rand, *Ovid and His Influence* (Boston, 1925), pp. 48 ff.

a) Verses 145 ff.:

Languor et inmodici sub nullo vindici somni
 Aleaque et multo tempora quassa mero
 Eripiunt omnes animo sine vulnere nervos:
 Adfluit incautis insidiosus Amor.
 Desidiam puer ille sequi solet, odit agentes.

b) Verses 136 ff.:

Fac monitis fugias otia prima meis:
 Haec, ut ames, faciunt; haec, ut fecere, tuentur;
 Haec sunt iucundi causa cibusque mali;
 Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus,
 Contemptaeque iacent et sine luce faces.
 Quam platanus vino gaudet, quam populus unda,
 Et quam limosa canna palustris humo,
 Tam Venus otia amat: qui finem quaeris amoris,
 (Cedit amor rebus) res age: tutus eris.

Indeed, the last verse sounds like a reminiscence of Mercury's advice to the "uxorious" Aeneas in Virgil (*Aeneid* iv. 569; cf. also 265-68, 271-77):

Heia age, rumpe moras!

To the medievals, "sloth" was one of the seven deadly sins (*accidia*).¹ Again, Geoffrey allies it to love (*mulierum inflammationes*) in the speech which Cadur delivers to the Arthurian court, in *HRB*, IX, xv. His fear, in short, is: *ne Britones longa pace quietos, otium quod ducunt ignavos faceret*. And this fear Wace allows Cadur to elaborate at length in *Brut*, verses 11017 ff.:

Que par oisdives et par pais
 Devenissent Bretun malvais

 Oisdive met hume en perece,
 Oisdive amenuise proëce
 Oisdive esmuet lecheries,
 Oisdive esprenent les drueries.

¹ The best study on this subject is by John L. Lowes, *PMLA*, XXX (1915), 243 ff.

Par lunc repos, et par oisdivie
 Est juvente trop ententive
 As gas, as deduis, et as tables,
 Et as autres gius deportables.

But, unlike Geoffrey, Wace places Gawain—the exemplar of chivalry—in rebuttal to such an ungrounded fear. And the terms he uses are based on Geoffrey's own views; see *Brut*, verse 11044:

Por noiant estes en esfrei:
 Bune est la pais apres la guerre,
 Plus riche et mielde en est la terre.
 Mult sunt bunes les gaberies,
 Li deduit et les drueries:

(and here is the point!)

Par la noblesce de s'amie
 Fait juvenes hum chevalerie.

The influence of a motif, whose parentage includes not only Geoffrey and Wace but also Virgil and Ovid, is apparent to all readers of medieval romance. The feminine point of view on the subject, as we should expect, is upheld by Marie de France, who in *Equitan*, verses 83 ff., plaintively queries:

Si bele dame tant mar fust
 S'ele n'amast u dru n'eüst!
 Que devendreit sa curteisie
 S'ele n'amast de druërie?

Precisely, *courtoisie* would be at stake, if women did not have their way. But listen to what the author of the *Eneas*, directly inspired by Ovid,¹ has to say with respect to a great lady; it is Dido to whom he refers (vss. 1445 ff.):

A un matin forment li plect
 Qu'ira chacier en la forest,
 Por esbatre de sa dolor,
 S'antroblier porroit s'amor;
 Car amors est molt plus griés chose,

¹ As Edmond Faral pointed out, in *Rom.*, XL, 202. See also, A. Pauphilet, "Eneas et Énée," *ibid.*, LV (1929), 195-213.

Quant an loisonje et repose,
 Et qui s'an velt bien delivre,
 Si ne doit mie reposer.

.
 Car quant an antant autre part,
 Se li sovient d'amor plus tart.

That is more than imitation; it is a copy of the *Remedia* (see above).

On the other hand, Chrétien has Wace's more virile attitude in mind; at least in the *Erec*, where he gives this analysis of his "uxorious" hero (vs. 2434):

Mes tant l'ama Erec d'amors
 Que d'armes mes ne li chaloit,
 Ne a tornoïement n'aloit,
 N'avoit mes soing de tornoïier;
 A sa *fame* aloit donoïier
 De li fist s'*amie* et sa *drue*:
 Tot mist son cuer et s'antandue
 An li acoler et beisier,
 Ne se queroit d'el aeisier.
 Si conpeignon duel an avoient.

Even in *Cligés* (vss. 154 ff.) there is an adumbration of the idea in

Maint haut home par lor peresce
 Perdent grant los, que il porroient
 Avoir, se par le monde erroient.
 Ne s'acordent pas bien ansamble
 Repos et los, si con moi sanble.

And Lancelot, *Charrete*, verses 2280 ff., hints at the idea in saying:

Car mauvés est qui se demore
 Et qui a eise se repose
 Puis qu'il a anprise grant chose.

But Chrétien returns in full to the motif only when Sir Gawain, true to his rôle of mentor in Wace, upbraids Ivain for his inactivity; see *Ivain*, verses 2483 ff.:

"Comant? Seroiz vos or de çaus?
 —Ce li dist messires Gauvains,—
 Qui por lor *fames* valent mains?

Honiz soit de sainte Marie,
 Qui por anpirier se marie!
 Amander doit de bele dame,
 Qui l'a a amie ou a fame."

As placed in the Ivain, there is a sting to Gawain's remark. The rule, according to Chrétien, holds for all men, whether they be lovers¹ or merely husbands.

¹ Hence the rule applies also to Lancelot. As has been pointed out by G. Ehrismann, "Märchen im höfischen Epos," *Paul u. Braune Beiträge*, XXX (1905), 39, and Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1914), 461, the notion that "love" engenders sloth is also characteristic of Irish Otherworld stories. As typical examples, we cite the following:

1. Emer, the wife, reproaches Cuchulinn in the *Serglige Conculaind* (*Ir. Texte* I, 216, § 30), in this fashion—

Is mebul duit . . . laigi fri bangrád.
 ("Shame on you to lie sick for the love of a woman.")

2. In like manner, the "woman in strange raiment" of the *Imram Brain* (Voyage of Bran) (ed. Kuno Meyer), I, 14, stanza 30, sings to Bran:

Na tuit fri lige lesce,
Nachit-tróilhad do mesce.
 ("Do not fall on a bed of sloth,
 Let not thy intoxication o'ercome thee.")

3. In the *Tochmarc Eitáine* (see L. C. Stern, *ZCPH*, V [1904-5], 531, and *Ir. Texte*, I, 122), Fachtna, the physician, diagnoses the illness of Ailill:

i. rod gab idu ébit no sercc do ratuiss.
 ("That is, the pain of jealousy has seized you or
 the love [sercc] that you have given.")

Since Chrétien's *Erec* and *Ivain* incorporate versions of the Otherworld story, it is always possible that the "uxoriousness" of the hero there goes back to Celtic sources, provided we grant that Chrétien also knew Geoffrey or Wace or both.

However that may be, H. Gaidoz, in the *Kuno Meyer Miscellany* (Halle, 1892), pp. 93-94, shows that the *serglige* of Ailill (preserved, to be sure, in the late fifteenth-century Egerton MS 1782) resembles the story told by Plutarch in his *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xxxviii. Here Antiochus is in love with Stratonice, wife or concubine of his father, Seleucus, and consequently falls into a state of languor. The physician, Erasiste, diagnoses the illness by the expression of the patient's face and his pulse-beat while Stratonice is present.

But nobody, except Hilka, noticed the existence of the Greek tale (transmitted perhaps through Arabic sources) in the form of an *exemplum* in Petrus Alphonsi, *Disciplina clericalis* (ed. Hilka and Söderhjelm; Heidelberg, 1911), p. 4. In this *exemplum*: *De integro amico*, when the sick man beholds his host's wife, he ex-

§ 2

No study of Chrétien de Troyes' love-concepts can overlook the fact that he himself had translated Ovid. The opening lines of the *Cligés* mention Chrétien as:

Cil qui fist d'Erec et d'Enide
 Et les Comandemanz d'Ovide
 Et l'Art d'Amors an romanz mist

 Et de la Hupe et de l'Aronde
 Et del Rossignol la Muance.

Until proof to the contrary is adduced, this direct testimony is to the effect that the romance *Erec* was followed by a translation (or adaptation) of the *Ars amatoria* and, if *les Comandemanz d'Ovide* is a separate work, it must have been the *Remedia amoris*. *De la Hupe et de l'Aronde et del Rossignol la Muance* refers, of course, to Ovid's tale of Philomela (*Metam.* vi. 426 ff.), and probably to the Old French *Philomena*. While, then, the last-mentioned is the only Ovidian adaptation of

claims: *Ex hac est michi mors et in hac est michi vita*; an expression which, as Hilka again proves (*ZFSL*, XLV [1917], 38), has passed into the *Tristan* of Thomas (ed. Bédier), I, 258 (and vs. 1061):

*Isolt ma drue, Isolt m'amie
 En vus ma mort, en vus ma vie;*

whence (see *Speculum*, II [1927], 480) it has gone into the *Amadas et Idoine*, vs. 694:

Ma vie est en vous et ma mort.

From the preceding it would appear that the Irish concept, like that of Petrus Alphonsi, is akin to the "Lovers Maladye of Heroes" treated by Lowes—in relation to Chaucer—in *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1914), 491 ff. Lowes observes that Latin translations of the Greek Orabasius were early current. "The sixth-century translation," he says, "refers to the malady merely as *amor*. But the tenth-century text employs another term. Its title reads: *Ad eos qui de amore contristantur, quos Greci ton heroton vocant.*" Hence it is not precluded that the writers of Irish saga were acquainted with the Greek or Oriental motif.

See, also, Rhode, *Der griechische Roman* (3d ed.), p. 167 ff., A. Hilka, *Vollmöllers Krit. Jahresbericht*, VIII (1907), Abt. II, 299, and X (1906), Abt. II, 65, and, on *amor in absentia*, Irish, *grád ecmáise*, T. P. Cross, *Mod. Phil.*, XII (1915), 612; further information is available in Chauvin, *Bibl. des ouvrages arabes*, V, 132; G. Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1888, pp. 664 and 727. Leitzmann, *Archiv für N. Spr.*, CXXXIII (1916), 373.

Chrétien's extant, the romances of *Cligés* and *Charrete* abound in Ovidian reminiscences.¹ A few examples, culled from F. E. Guyer's articles, will establish the fact clearly.

In *Cligés* four Ovidian characters are mentioned: Narcissus—to whom the hero is compared—Medea, Helen, and Paris. Thessala (note the Latin form),

de Thessaille nee
Ou sont faites les deablies [vs. 3006],

is said to know more of witchcraft and enchantments than Medea (*Metam.* vii. 10 ff.). Soredamor's soliloquy resembles both in substance and in style that of Medea.² The lover is a 'sick man' (*aeger* [*Remedia*, vss. 109, 129, 313, 314]), and besides showing the conventional *signa*, trembling, paleness, loss of appetite, etc., is likened to oxen harnessed to the plow (*bués d'arer*), which recalls *Amores* i. 2. 13:

Verbera plura ferunt, quam quos iuvat *usus aratri*,
Detractant prensi dum iuga prima *boves*.

As regards the *Charrete*, the chief parallels have been mentioned above;³ but, in addition, Lancelot is compared to Pyramus (vs. 3821), and the suitor, in verses 1581 ff., who believes he has won his lady, exults

Mout ai or bien et droit *nagié*
Qu'a mout *buen port* sui arivez.
Or sui je toz descheitvez:
De peril sui venuz a *port*;

a simile which finds its sole justification in that it derives from *Remedia*, verses 13 and 812:

Si quis amans, quod amare juvat, feliciter ardet,
Gaudeat et vento *naviget* ille suo;

.

Contigimus *portus*, quo mihi cursus est.

¹ On this see the interesting articles of F. E. Guyer, "The Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes," *Rom. Rev.*, XII (1921), 97 ff.

² See Guyer, p. 103. The name Thessala as a 'sorceress' may come from Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxx. 2); but, as A. Jeanroy (*Rom.*, XXXIII [1904], 420 n.) suggests, "il doit venir de Lucain, très lu dans les écoles au XII^e siècle."

³ See pp. 7-8.

It would be supererogatory, then, to explain here that, in addition to Geoffrey, Wace, and the *Eneas*, it was the direct influence of Ovid that helped to mold Chrétien's concept of love. As he himself said in *Cligés*, which may well have also been written¹ for Mary of Champagne:

You who take lessons from Cupid, and maintain the customs and usage of his court in faith . . . tell me, did one ever see any person made handsomer by him without trembling or growing pale thereat!² He who commends himself to Cupid makes of him his master and his lord. It is right that he should revere him and fear him much and honor him much—if he wishes to belong to his court.

So speaks the medieval, *courtois* poet, in imagery suited to his age. But, granting the adornment and the moralizing, beneath it all we can still see vestiges³ of *siquis in hoc artem . . . doctus amet; magister erat; ille quidem ferox est; arte regendus Amor* of Dr. Ovid. And this brings us, at last, to the "love-service" of the *Charrete*.

§ 3

Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XII, 522) is responsible for the hypothesis that this concept is a product of Southern France. He says:

Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de rechercher les origines de cette conception qui, de plus en plus idéalisée et systématisée, devait aboutir au mysticisme amoureux d'un Guido Guinicelli ou d'un Dante. Il suffit, pour voir à quel point elle était établie comme convention poétique chez les troubadours, de parcourir les témoignages que Diez a réunis dans son livre *Die Poesie der Troubadours*.

And again:

C'était l'amour tel que l'avaient présenté les troubadours, ... l'amour illégitime et caché, et en même temps l'amour considéré comme un art et comme une vertu.

It is hardly necessary to state that a little ingenuity can trace all of these features to Ovid—provided we disregard, for the moment, the

¹ G. Paris, *Journal des Savants* (1902).

² *Cligés*, vss. 3865 ff.

³ See the witty beginning of the *Ars amatoria*.

ideal that held them together. In *Amores* ii. 17. 1 ff., the Latin poet asserted categorically:

Siquis erit, qui turpe putet *servire* puellae,
Illo convincar iudice turpis ego.

And this notion the *Ars amatoria* ii. 228 erects into a rule:

Tunc quoque pro *servo*, si vocat illa, veni!

Much of Ovid's love-making is *illégitime et caché* in more ways than one. He wrote a whole poem on love as an art, and he pronounced it a "moral" work:

Inque meo nullum carmine crimen erit.

The Middle Ages respected so "subtle" a doctor; it was the time of scholasticism. We make this remark in all reverence. In the *Charrete*, Chrétien uses the word *service* effectively, with respect to Lancelot's mounting into the cart. And there, in verse 4394, the lover realizes that

Mes dame ne fu pas buens
Cist services. Bien le provai
Au sanblant que an li trovai.

Surely, Chrétien had not forgotten the ironic picture that *Heroïdes* ix gives of the great Hercules wearing feminine attire—just for the love of Omphale:

A woman has taken in her hand the club that overcame wild beasts,¹
And in the mirror gazed upon the armour of her lord.

Could the "service of love" go further? Or offer a more obvious parallel?

But let us turn now to the Provençals. And to avoid the quagmire of the irrelevant, in which scholarly discussion of them is entangled, let us cling to those whom a due respect for chronology will permit Chrétien to have known. Their number is not great: four or five troubadours at the utmost.

¹ *Heroïdes and Amores* (trans. by Grant Showerman, 1921), "Loeb Class. Lib. Series," p. 117.

Important among these is Bernart de Ventadorn.¹ He was probably in England at the crowning of Henry II (1154); certainly he was devoted to Eleanor of Poitou, mother of Mary of Champagne, and, as Appel has proved,² Chrétien's "D'Amors qui m'a tolu a moi," his second lyric,³ is in part an imitation of Bernart, No. 43. Beginning with No. 30, verse 22, Bernart states that he is breaking away from the *escola n'Eblo*—that is, from the manner of Ebolus cantator, Eble II of Ventadorn—though only because his lady has turned him a deaf ear.

Now, the school of Eble, called also *trobar n'Eble* by Marcabrû, evidently represents the new, "courtly" type of troubadour poetry.

E amors ten se ab los cortes
[And love dwells with the courtly]

is the claim of Peire Rogier,⁴ who spent most of his life at the court of Ermengarde de Narbonne, herself one of the high-born ladies mentioned by Andreas Capellanus. And Marcabrû, who denounced the new school⁵ because it confuses *amors* and *amars*⁶ and encourages "adultery," nevertheless develops the conceit that

Qui ses bauzia
Vol Amor alberguar,
De cortezia
Deu sa maison jonchar.⁷

¹ See the monumental edition of Carl Appel (Halle, 1915); also his Bernart von Ventadorn, *Ausgewählte Lieder* (Halle, 1926).

² Large edition, p. lvii, n. 1.

³ See Jules Brakelmann, *Les plus anciens chansonniers français* (Paris, 1870-91), p. 46; cf. G. Paris, *JdS*, 1902, p. 57, n. 3.

⁴ See Appel, *Das Leben und die Lieder des Troubadors Peire Rogier* (Berlin, 1882).

⁵ Appel, *Lieder des Bernart von Ventadorn*, p. lxiv.

⁶ See now Appel, "Raimbaut von Orange" (*Abh. der Gesell. der Wissen. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Neue Folge, XXI, 2), Berlin, 1928; and Kurt Lewent's review of this book in *ZFSL*, LII (1929), 155.

⁷ Dejeanne, *Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabrû* (Toulouse, 1909), p. 155. Already William IX of Poitou (ed. Jeanroy, VII, 35 ff.) has the remark: "coven li que sapcha far faigz avinens E que.s gart en cort de parler Vilamens."

[Who without guile
Wishes to harbor love,
With courtesy
Let him strew his house.]

Moreover, Cercamon sent Eble himself a *plang* on the death of Eleanor's father, William X of Poitou (†1137); and Guiraut de Cabreira mentions Eble as a poet together with Jaufre Rudel and Marcabré. We know, too, that Cercamon had written a *canço* celebrating Eleanor's previous marriage to Louis VII of France.

If, then, the troubadours grouped about Eble II made the love-lyric "courtly" and esoteric, by what particular point of view are they to be distinguished? Not by the fact, certainly, that they, also, exploited the rich mine of Ovid. Nor, as Jeanroy has recently shown,¹ by the presence among them of any organizing genius. Says Jeanroy:

Les troubadours ignorent absolument ce qu'est un *tout* logiquement agencé; ils n'ont à aucun degré l'art de grouper autour d'une idée centrale les idées accessoires propres à l'éclairer. ... Que les sentiments exprimés soient contradictoires, cela même importe peu aux troubadours.

On the other hand, it is equally clear that they had a high sense of style, of verbal and musical composition; and, last but not least, an overpowering conviction of the sovereignty of love as a social force. The 'rustic' (*vilain*), thinks Andreas, may proceed *sicut equus et mulus ad Veneris opera*; of love he is incapable. Whereas the perfect or *courtois* lover refines his sensations, hinders indulgence by placing difficulties in its way, and thus makes of love a torture and a delight.²

¹ "Etudes sur l'ancienne poésie provençale," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, XXIX (1928), 229 ff.

² Andreas, p. 235. D. Schedulko, *ZFSL*, LII (1929), 38, states correctly: "Der ganze Begriff des *vilain* ist eine Erfindung der höfischen Dichter."

But the best analysis of this subject is still to be found in the discerning study of Karl Vossler, *Die philosophischen Grundlagen zum 'süssen neuen Stil'* (Heidelberg, 1904). Of the Provençals he says: "Für die moderne Kunst des Abendlandes haben sie zwei neue Gefühlsnünancen entdeckt: die Sentimentalität und die Lüsternheit—Gefühle, deren kunsthistorische Bedeutung man damit nicht erfasst hat, dass man sie moralisch verdammt. Ein so ästhetisch angelegtes Volk wie die Provenzalen war nicht in der Lage seine Sinnlichkeit nach Puritanerart

Beneath the sunlit skies of Provence, where every appeal is to the senses, it could hardly be otherwise. The very restraint which such aesthetic control imposed fanned the fire of secret desire, and caused it to break forth in sudden and sweeping intensity.

"He who does not yield to Love," says Bernart, "can have no worth":

Nuls om ses amor re no vau [No. 21, vs. 29],

Ben es mortz qui d'amor no sen [No. 31, vs. 9].

Whence we get the concept, which transfuses Chrétien's romance of Lancelot and Guenevere, that the lover (the *amis antiers*) is the humble yet willing and joyous servant, not only of his lady, but of Love.¹ In *Cligés* (still close to the Ovidian *Eneas*) Chrétien adumbrates the idea,² but in the *Charrete* it underlies every step in Lancelot's behavior. Hence he never questions the harshness of Guenevere's repulses, just as she herself, in causing them, is simply obeying the universal law to which they are both liable. Hence the secrecy, not in order to deceive Arthur, but because love is no subject for gossip or chatter:

C'amors, pois om par tot s'en vana,

Non es amors, mas es ufana [Bernart, No. 22, vs. 21].

zu unterdrücken, es wurde vielmehr dazu geführt, sie zu verfeinern. . . . Es ist in erster Linie immer nur die Freude an der Sinnlichkeit selbst, der Wunsch, sie zu steigern, der zur Uebersinnlichkeit führte." These few words contain the essence of the matter, an excellent summary of which, in all of its features, is to be found in the late Alfred Pillet's *Zum Ursprung der Altprovenzalischen Lyrik*, Halle (Saale), 1928 ("Schriften der Königsberger Gel. Gesellsch.," No. 4).

¹ See Jeanroy's analysis of *Amors* (*op. cit.*, pp. 232 ff.); on the idea of *valoir*, p. 214.

² *Cligés*, while lacking the *amis antiers*, has the *fins amanz*, vs. 3861; see above, chap. I. For further references to the *fin amic*, *amador*, *aman* and *fin'amansa*, *fin'amor*, consult especially Appel's *Bernart von Ventadorn*, p. 370. Marie de France, *Equitan*, vs. 155, speaks of the *fin curteis*, but the adjective is not yet applied by her or the *Eneas* (or the *Erec*) to the "lover." Hence the importance of the reference in *Cligés*, vs. 3861. It is to be noted again that the *Eneas* and Marie are akin in their Ovidianism. See now the excellent analysis of Marie by Camilla Conigliani, "Amore e Avventura nei 'Lais,'" in *Arch. Rom.*, II (1918), 218 ff. "Siamo," she concludes (p. 293), "in un periodo di transizione e non di sintesi [with Marie]."

As for Arthur, he presents so marked a contrast with the Arthur of *Cligés* as to be scarcely the same person. He lets Meleaganz insult him and Kay outwit him. He is practically never in the foreground.¹ His complete lack of jealousy is in accord with the view that the *jalos* [Prov. *gilos*] is out of place in courtly society.² Lastly, hence the *valoir*, which leads Chrétien to the reflection:

Mout est qui aime obeïssanz
Et mout fet tost et volantiers
La ou il est *amis antiers*,
Ce que s'amie doie pleire [*Charrete*, vss. 3816 ff.];

and in the second lyric, partly inspired by Bernart, to the confession:

Onques del bevrage ne bui
Dont Tristans fu enpoisonez,
Mes plus me fait amer que lui
Fins cuers et *bone volentez*.

The *Amors*, masc., of *Cligés*, verse 3888, is still the Ovidian Cupid; while in the lyric and the *Charrete* the feminine use of the noun suggests the Provençal personification:

Qu'as siens ne puet *ele* faillir [Lyric, vs. 13].

Que de rien blasmer ne vuel
S'il let ce qu'Amors li deffant
Et la ou *ele* viaut autant [*Charrete*, vs. 1254].

Qu'Amors einzi les suens essaie,
Einsi conoist *ele* les suens [*Charrete*, vs. 4392].³

¹ Annette B. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

² See D. Schedulko, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altprovenzalischen Lyrik," *ZFSL*, LII (1929), 37.

³ Note, however, that *amors*, 'loving,' is feminine in both the *Eneas* and the *Cligés*; cf. *Eneas*, vs. 1371:

Quant de s'amor estes surprise,
Quidiez *la* veintre an nule guise;

and *Cligés*, vs. 536:

Ceste amors fust leaus et *droïte*,

Thus *Cligés* and *Eneas* (vs. 8647) agree in making *Amors* masculine and *amors* feminine; see also Marie de France, *Guigemar*, vs. 483.

[Footnote continued on next page]

Thus, there can be no doubt that *l'amour courtois* as it is presented to us in Chrétien's story of Lancelot owes its distinctive mark to the influence of the troubadours. There, and not in Ovid, nor in Geoffrey, nor in Wace, nor in the *Eneas*, is the idea developed of the *amis antiers*: the lover who loves even when his passion appears unrequited and who is willing to sacrifice all for Love. On the other hand, all evidence

On the other hand, the *Ivain*, like the *Charrete*, throughout employs the feminine for both ideas; see vs. 16:

Li deciple de son covant
 Qui lors estoit riches et buens.
 Mes ore i a mout po des suens

 S'an est amors mout abeissiee;

and vs. 1386:

C'est granz honte, qu'Amors est teus,
 Et quant *ele* si mal se prueve.

In one case only does the *Ivain* mention the Ovidian Cupid, and there, vs. 5375, we read:

Li Des d'Amors, s'il la veïst,
 Ne ja amer ne la feïst.

All the more striking, therefore, is the well-known passage on *Amors*, fem., in *Philomena*, vss. 393 ff., particularly vs. 425:

Amors est plus que vanz legiere;
 Por ce est fausse et mançongiere.

As F. Zaman (*L'attribution de Philomena* [Amsterdam, 1928], pp. 100 ff.) has shown, this idea is Ovidian, as are most of the expressions in the poem; cf. vs. 407, *Et retient noviaus soudoiiers*, and vs. 402, *Qui Amor servent et ressoignent*. Yet the poet has not the Ovidian Cupid in mind but the personified *Amors*, fem., of the *Charrete* and *Ivain*. If one assigns the poem definitely to Chrétien, one must thus bear in mind that "il faut considérer le texte critique de *Philomena* comme un manuscrit unique du premier quart du XIV^e siècle qui nous conserverait un conte du XII^e" (Zaman, p. 91). This fact is overlooked by Stefan Hofer, *ZrPh*, XLI (1921), 408 ff.

Lastly, the reader should consult the penetrating remarks of A. Jeanroy, *Neuphilolog. Mitteilungen*, XXIX (1928), 232 ff. On *Amors* in Provençal, he says: "Le seul troubadour chez qui apparaissent nettement des reminiscences ovidiennes est Guiraut de Calanson, qui nous a laissé jusqu'à deux portraits d'*Amors*. C'est un être du sexe féminin, comme chez les autres troubadours; il porte une couronne d'or, tient en ses mains un arc, dont partent deux traits, l'un d'or, l'autre d'acier (ou de plomb); il est nu, ou vêtu simplement d'une petite ceinture d'orfroi; tout cela n'empêche pas qu'il soit invisible."

is lacking to show that the early troubadours organized this idea into the compact system that we find in the *Charrete* and in Andreas' *De Amore*. That was the achievement of Mary of Champagne, of her chaplain Andreas, and of Chrétien de Troyes. Nor did Chrétien apparently take any details of imagery, for the *Charrete*, directly from the troubadours. Only in *Ivain*, verses 1972-74, does he use the feudal terms whereby Bernart or Peire Rogier express the love-relationship. Bernart says *Mas jonchas estau aclis* (No. 20, vs. 39); *vostr'om sui juratz e plevitz* (No. 33, vs. 31); *en sui sos om liges* (No. 42, vs. 38); compare *Ivain* (vs. 1973), *joint Ses mains, si s' est a genouz mis Et dist come verais amis*. The one instance in which Foerster interpreted the text of the *Charrete* as expressing "vassalage" is a misinterpretation. MS T (vs. 3758) reads:

Ou la reïne iert apoïee
Devant la serue et logiee.

If we change *serue* to *serrë*, already used in verse 2064,¹ the meaning seems perfectly clear;² and this is not true of Foerster's emendation:

Ou la reïne iert apoïee;
Devant l'a servie et loïee³

—which is, therefore, to be rejected.

In short, Chrétien's imagery comes from other than Provençal sources. And, as we saw above, in this respect his great master was Ovid.

Thus, it appears, there are three phases in the evolution—if that be the right word—of Chrétien's concept of the lover. The first may be termed "chivalric." It is based on the social equality of the sexes, as illustrated by Geoffrey of Monmouth's description of the Arthurian court. Here the lover is the social counterpart of his beloved; she

¹ *Mes il i estoient en serre* ('prison,' 'tower').

² "Where the Queen was leaning before the prison, and lodged."

³ Foerster's emendation would read: "In front he has served her and been her vassal."

stimulates him to bravery, he her to loyalty. To quote once more the words of the "exemplar" of chivalry:

Por la noblesce de s'amie
Fait juvenes hum chevalerie.

While the Ovidian *otidive* (*otium*) belongs to this phase, chivalry steps in to correct it.

The second phase, due more particularly to the direct influence of the Latin poet and of the *Eneas*, may be called Ovidian. This aspect is illustrated by the *Cligés*, but also by the *Charrete*, and, in a diminishing degree, by the *Ivain*. To it are due the *plets d'amor*, or love-soliloquies; the *signa* of the lover afflicted as if by a disease; to some degree, the love-madness (familiar also to the Celts); and a great deal of the imagery the poet employs.

The third phase is Provençal. Its essence consists in the conception of Love as an end in herself. Not merely as an art, for that is clearly Ovidian, but as an art with the triumph of Love as its supreme aim. This phase is worked out as a social "system" in the *Tractatus de amore* of Andreas Capellanus, and illustrated in the *Roman de la Charrete*. It was, so Dante tells us, from the prose *Lancelot*, which incorporates¹ Chrétien's romance, that Paolo and Francesca drew the fire of their passion, with the result that

Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante.

¹ Myrrha Lot-Borodine, *Trois Essais sur le Roman de Lancelot du Lac et de la Quête du Saint Graal* (Paris, 1919), p. 6, remarks correctly: "Notre auteur n'intercale pas l'épisode de la *Charrete*, il l'incorpore à son roman du *Lancelot*."

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